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**Conforming to Invisible Principles:
The Significance of Meta-Physical Beliefs for the Heian-Period
Episteme and their Articulation in Social and Political Relations**

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Abstract

The Heian period (794-1185) is often associated with rampant meta-physical forces, such as vengeful spirits (*onryō* 怨霊), which represented the consequences of political manoeuvrings and intrigue in the form of bodily retribution through illness. It has been overlooked, however, that beliefs in such transcendent entities constituted a central aspect of the era's cosmology and served to define the political relations between the dominant elites in power. The main aim of this thesis is to illustrate the epistemological and socio-political significance of meta-physical beliefs for the Heian-period worldview and the organisation of the body politic.

The focal point of this study is the formulation of the episteme as an underlying structure that generated interpretative patterns based upon which the meta-physical beliefs constituted part of an explanatory paradigm. By inserting this abstract structure, it becomes possible to examine the plethora of beliefs on one level, regardless of the traditions they stemmed from, and avoid discussions concerning the applicability of the term “religion”. This approach thus enables an unconstrained evaluation of their functions, as they can be deduced from their application to certain situations and their portrayal in the sources. To that end, this thesis adduces a variety of *kanbun* documents from the mid- to late Heian period, which span the height of Fujiwara dominance, their decline, and the subsequent ascendancy of the retired emperors (*hōō* 法皇). The political climate of this time span is particularly conducive to an in-depth understanding of meta-physical beliefs, since their use became highly politicised.

Based on a selection of four ambiguous keywords, namely *mononoke* 物気, *jaki* 邪気, *mokke* 物怪, and *tatari* 祟, I will demonstrate that the meta-physical realm was arranged taxonomically and that the discourse relating to such beliefs

was remarkably restrictive, as it mirrored the configuration of the bureaucracy. In other words, the transcendent realm added a further dimension to the articulation of political and social relations, as it delineated the groupings of the dominant agents and determined which aspects of the meta-physical discourse they could draw upon for explanations according to their positions. It has emerged from the collected data that in the specific context of communication between the transcendent and mundane realms, a conscious distinction was made between the emperor and his meta-physical discourse and those sets of beliefs that were utilised by other elite groups.

Beginning with an examination of the keywords and what they reveal about the composition of Heian-period cosmology, I set forth the distinctions made between various categories and the principles by which they were organised. These differentiations are particularly prominent in the ritual context, which provides an indication of how the episteme could be manipulated to serve socio-political ends. Such objectives often represented affiliations between important personages and ritual institutions that had seemingly been neglected by the centre. The attempts made to communicate with the meta-physical realm further confirm the intrinsic link between beliefs in transcendent entities as explanatory tools, socio-political concerns, and the centrality of the *jingi* 神祇 cult for the position of the ruler. With this thesis I hope to provide new insights into the pre-modern episteme in relation to socio-political dynamics.

Lay Summary

The extant sources of the Japanese Heian period (794-1185) attest to the widespread belief among the elites that transcendent entities interfered with all aspects of human life. These were envisioned as capricious deities, evil spirits, and immaterial forces that caused strange phenomena, calamities and disease in reaction to inappropriate human behaviour. Until now, they have been treated as a curious feature of the era that could provide explanations for unusual events and as stylistic devices in courtly tale literature. I will argue in this thesis, however, that they constituted a central organising element within the period's cosmology and thus served to define and legitimise the predominant power structures.

The aim of this study is to respect the continuity between the mundane and transcendent realms and to discuss the plethora of beliefs and events associated with them on one level. In this way, presupposed classifications can be avoided that would force notions such as "religion" or "supernatural" upon the empirical data and thus distort our understanding of the Heian-period worldview. From such an alternative vantage point it becomes possible to evaluate the functions of beliefs in the transcendent entities and forces within in a larger framework and their significance for the articulation of socio-political relations.

To that end, the focus will lie on the mid to late Heian period, as this time frame incorporates a major shift of political power from one of the most influential clans in Japanese history, namely the Fujiwara, to the retired emperors, who abdicated in favour of their sons, but continued to rule in the background. Based on a wide variety of primary sources written in Classical Chinese, which represent the more official side of record-keeping, I have traced the occurrence of a set of four keywords in order to examine how the transcendent realm was conceptualised. The analysis of these sources has revealed that conscious

distinctions were made between different categories of belief, which resulted in a taxonomical arrangement of invisible agents, and between socio-political groups, which depended on their affiliation with particular entities.

Overall, this thesis is concerned with the way in which the people of the Heian period negotiated the apparent tension between the mundane and transcendent realms and thus envisioned their place in the cosmos. This tension manifested itself in the form of communication processes that were understood to be reciprocal. I begin by providing a detailed overview of the keywords and how they were thought to embody a warning that the balance between the realms had been disrupted. This is followed by an examination of the ritual countermeasures that were undertaken in response to these signs and what they reveal about the real socio-political implications the application of these beliefs could have.

The last part of this study is concerned with the reverse direction of communication when humans initiated a conversation with the invisible realm, as this can uncover more about the restrictions placed upon socio-political groups and lineages based on the transcendent entities they could interact with. Consequently, access to certain parts of the transcendent realm also defined the degree of importance accorded to a person's position in the state, which, in turn, depended on the hereditary roles that were passed down through the generations. I thus hope to demonstrate that beliefs in transcendent entities constituted a central component and organising principle of Heian-period cosmology.

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CONVENTIONS

Japanese Names

Japanese names will be given in the Japanese order with the surname first, unless the work has been published in a Western language and the name has been adapted to Western conventions. The names of ritual institutions, in particular shrines and Buddhist temples, will be given as proper nouns.

Dates

Rather than adopting the lunar calendar to reference specific dates as they appear in the sources, I use a hybrid form, which gives the Western year first, followed by the lunar month and day.

Sutras

In order to avoid having to give the full name of a sutra in the main body of text I will refer to them by their abbreviated Japanese titles or their English translations according to the following list:

Dai Hannya-kyō 大般若經: *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* (Ch. *Dà bōrè jīng*; Skt. *Prajñāpāramitā*)

Hoke-kyō 法華經: *Lotus Sutra* (full title in J. *Myōhō renge-kyō* 妙法蓮華經; Ch. *Miàofǎ Liánhuá jīng*; Skt. *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra*)

Kongō-kyō 金剛經: *Diamond Sutra* (full title in J. *Kongō hannya haramita kyō* 金剛般若波羅蜜多經; Ch. *Jīngāng bōrě boluómì jīng*; Skt. *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*)

Konkōmyō-kyō 金光明經: *Sutra of Golden Light* (Ch. *Jīn guāngmíng jīng*; Skt. *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra*)

Kujaku-kyō 孔雀經: *Peacock Sutra* (Ch. *Kǒngqiǎo jīng*)

Ninnō-kyō 仁王經: *Sutra for Humane Kings* (Ch. *Rén wáng jīng*)

Shin-kyō 心經: *Heart Sutra* (full title in J. *Hannya haramita shin-kyō* 般若波羅蜜多心經; Ch. *Bōrě bōluómìduō xīnjīng*; Skt. *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya Sūtra*)

Yakushi-kyō 藥師經: *Sutra of the Medicine Buddha* (Ch. *Yàoshī jīng*)

Abbreviations

DNK – *Dai Nihon kokiroku*

GR – *Gunsho ruijū*

HI – *Heian ibun*

KT – *Kokushi taiki*

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Introduction

When members of the Heian-period (794-1185) elite looked up at the night sky, or at the natural phenomena surrounding them, their idea of the cosmos was infinitely smaller and more concentrated than ours is today. We now know that our planet is but a tiny speck in the outer reaches of our galaxy, which is only one of countless others within the confines of the observable universe. However, for the early Japanese populace all cosmic phenomena and strange signs in their environment manifested themselves as meaningful events that were focussed on their nation with the *tennō* 天皇 (emperor) at its apex. As the representative of the state, he fulfilled the central role of mediator between heaven and earth, since the former was understood to enclose the latter.

Naturally, these people thought that any unusual occurrences must be related to the human sphere of everyday life and their actions. This was due to the notion that heaven and earth existed in a state of equilibrium and affected each other. The many invisible processes at work in nature that produced visible and tangible effects came to be associated with similarly transcendent forces and entities that were responsible for the perceived changes in the equilibrium. We must therefore adjust our mindset in order to fully immerse ourselves into the perception of the world of this temporally and spatially removed society. In this way, we may gain a better understanding of the visible and invisible aspects that constituted their cosmos.

Today, the natural sciences are able to sufficiently explain the world around us and have considerably widened our horizon in terms of what can be described scientifically. However, although the limit of what is known appears to be much further in the distance, these fields of enquiry still encounter unsolvable problems at the boundaries of knowledge, where well-informed speculation takes place. If we take the search for a grand unifying theory, for example, that

can account for both the processes at the subatomic level as described by Quantum Mechanics, as well as the laws of physics that apply to the macroscopic level and considerably larger objects, we encounter a number of possible theories such as string theory or M-theory, which, at the current stage, cannot unequivocally be proven to be true.

The further back in time we venture, the smaller the verifiable scope of knowledge becomes, so that alternative explanations and speculations are much closer to the everyday perception of life and inextricably entwined with the position of humans in the cosmos, which, in turn, was anthropocentric. It was at the boundaries of knowledge, when human life was threatened by illnesses and calamities, that beliefs in transcendent entities such as evil spirits, demons, and wrathful deities appeared most prominently. In order to account for their manifestation in times of crisis, a view of the cosmos that included a plethora of invisible entities such as deities, both benevolent and malevolent, and forces, which contained both negative and positive aspects, were needed to describe the processes within it.

We quickly encounter the limitations of trying to view the Heian-period worldview through the lens of categories such as science or religion, which presents a pervasive theme throughout this thesis. Despite the fact that many situations were explained by drawing upon transcendent entities and forces, many fields responsible for their counteraction and the restoration of harmony based their considerations on empirical data. Their knowledge derived from the observation of the heavens, or methods that had been developed in intricate detail, such as divination, for instance. This aspect significantly blurs the lines between such categorisations, and we must take care to avoid any inherently modern biases when trying to understand the epistemological processes. For this reason, it makes more sense to highlight the fact that, overall, knowledge was sought with the same ambitions and that the worldview was logical and

consistent in and of itself. Hence, I have developed a new approach that can help to avoid the constraints placed upon the subject matter concerning the various categorisations and enable a conceptualisation of the sphere of beliefs from a variety of perspectives.

Research questions and aims

The main focus of this thesis lies on, what I have chosen to term, meta-physical beliefs that were drawn upon at the boundaries of knowledge. I will also examine how they operated in relation to the transcendent realm that encompassed the deities and all other ambiguous forces. As I will explain in more detail in the first chapter, this denotation should be understood to refer to those entities and forces that transcended the human realm into an additional dimension, which, in turn, was fundamental for the worldview as well as the functioning of the cosmos. More specifically, I have selected four keywords that represent popular objects of enquiry when it comes to the Heian period, but are simultaneously very ambiguous. They are *mononoke* 物気, *jaki* 邪気, *mokke* 物怪, and *tatari* 祟.

As I will demonstrate, not only the term *mononoke* in relation to the notion of evil spirits, but also the nature of the associated beliefs listed above, have been misrepresented, to a certain extent. This is mainly due to the focus on courtly tale literature, based upon which they have been treated as curious but ultimately isolated phenomena. I would like to question the way in which such beliefs have commonly been portrayed. By examining official historical documents and diaries written in *kanbun* I hope to gain a more complete understanding of their prominence throughout the Heian period. This approach is fuelled by the assumption that these types of beliefs formed an integral component of the Heian-period belief system and fulfilled important explanatory functions.

Indeed, it has emerged that these types of entities in conjunction with the deities as representatives of the additional dimension constituted a necessary component of the cosmos as a holistic unit. They furthermore served to structure the cosmos both in physical and meta-physical terms. As we shall see, only certain groups could interact with equally defined meta-physical counterparts due to specified taxonomical and hierarchical schemes. The meta-physical realm presented an extension of the physical realm, which therefore also had significant implications for the articulation of social and political relations. While meta-physical and symbolic associations represented a key aspect in the definition of power relations, the predominant interpretative patterns could also be manipulated by those who had internalised them to serve socio-political ends. By adjusting our perspective on the significance of meta-physical beliefs for the Heian period and by consulting previously neglected documents, a very different image of “supernatural” intervention is beginning to form.

Since we are thus raising issues that have not been addressed before, this project could serve to open a new field of enquiry for premodern Japan. In fact, my analysis suggests that this type of research can enhance the commonly accepted theories that deal with the articulation and organisation of the religious traditions as well as the definition of power relations, as they have disregarded this additional dimension. While it constituted an abstract product of the Heian-period mindset and worldview, the way in which it was used can nevertheless reveal a great deal about the predominant modes of interpretation and the strategies the elite used in order to achieve their goals. At the very least, it can supply further aspects to the commonly accepted views of the Heian period.

Since the Heian era spans roughly four centuries, I would like to specify that this thesis is mostly concerned with the mid to late Heian period. The reason for this is that the tenth to twelfth centuries saw a major shift of power from one of the most influential clans in Japanese history, namely the Fujiwara, to the

imperial lineage itself through the retired emperors. It was with the Fujiwara that the appearance of beliefs in malevolent meta-physical entities and especially evil spirits increased significantly, which prompted the idea that they must have fulfilled a more important role for the worldview and the negotiation of power relations.¹ As I will demonstrate throughout this thesis, there was a clear tendency to use the meta-physical realm as a way to govern social and political relations. The retired emperors adopted many of the strategies that the Fujiwara had employed, such as instating themselves as the regent of an underage emperor, in order to secure their position.² Similarly, the way in which they drew upon the meta-physical discourse in relation to particular ritual institutions was very similar to the strategies used by the Fujiwara. It is here that the potential of this project lies, as it highlights the fact that the cosmos should be seen as a holistic unit. Thus, we are in need of an approach that can encompass both the physical and the meta-physical realms in order to evaluate all forms of interaction.

The historical context

The Heian period constituted an era of relative peace and stability during which the arts and aesthetic ideals flourished. This allowed a hereditary class of noble elites to evolve who placed much value on refinement and ritual. While the system of administrative and legal codes (*ritsuryōsei* 律令制) was in decline in

¹ I believe this line of enquiry would benefit greatly from tracing the application of meta-physical beliefs from the Nara and early Heian periods to the rise of the Fujiwara, as it could reveal more about their significance for the mundane realm. Hence, this constitutes one of the topics I would like to pursue in a future research project.

² While Mikael Bauer denies that the rule by retired emperors was a direct outcome of the Fujiwara regency and rather attributes it to the establishment of lineages and ties to monastic institutions that had already been in place before the rise of the Fujiwara, I will explain in more detail in chapter 3 how the use of meta-physical beliefs as a socio-political strategy points to a measure of consistency in terms of the articulation of power. See “Conflating Monastic and Imperial Lineage”, *Monumenta Nipponica* 67.2 (2012): 240-246. For more information on the establishment of the *insei*, see Hurst, G. Cameron. *Insei: Abdicating Sovereigns in the Politics of Late Heian Japan, 1086-1185*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976, 101-124.

terms of the country as a whole, some of its aspects were still effective with regards to the organisation of the centre. This applied to the imperial court and the capital, and the provision of spiritual protection for the centre based on the imperially sponsored networks of shrines and temples.³

From the mid-ninth century onwards, when Fujiwara no Yoshifusa 藤原良房 (804-872) became the first regent *sesshō* 摂政 for the child emperor Seiwa 清和天皇 (850-881), the Fujiwara clan rapidly rose to power and secured their monopoly within the court.⁴ This move initiated the system of *sekkanke* 摂関家 rule, which was founded upon the well-known custom of marriage politics. Through the intermingling of the imperial and Fujiwara blood lines by providing royal princes with Fujiwara consorts, the leaders of the Fujiwara clan held the *de facto* power over the emperors, since they were either their uncles or grandfathers. The term *sekkanke* denotes both the position of regent for the child emperor (*sesshō*) and of *kanpaku* 関白 when the emperor came of age, which became the most powerful office at the Heian court. As *kanpaku* the Fujiwara were able to issue commands on behalf of the emperor and were allowed to inspect royal documents.⁵ They also managed to dominate the Daijōkan 太政官 [Office of the Council of State], where they secured all councillor positions by 1028. As is well known, Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長 (966-1027) represented the height of Fujiwara dominance, which is often seen as the embodiment of

³ These networks also included institutions that were being funded by powerful clans. For more information on the *ritsuryō* system and its decline see Piggott, Joan R. *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997, chapter six; Miller, Allan L. "The State as Liturgical Community". *History of Religions* 1 (1971): 98-124; Holcombe, Charles. "Ritsuryō Confucianism"; Inoue, "The Ritsuryō System in Japan". *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 57/2 (1997): 543-573; Totman, Conrad D. *A History of Japan*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2005, 87-113.

⁴ Sansom, George B. *A History of Japan to 1334*. Chatham: W & J Mackay, 1978, 139-177.

⁵ Sansom, *A History of Japan to 1334*, 140; Farris, William Wayne. *Japan to 1600: A Social and Economic History*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009, 58.

courtly refinement. However, after his death, the clan's fortunes gradually changed, as his son Yorimichi 藤原頼通 (992-1074) was unable to provide a successor. Due to their bold attitude and ruthless political manoeuvrings the Fujiwara created many enemies and victims, who came back to haunt them when they had died, in the form of vengeful spirits (*onryō* 怨霊), and in some circumstances *mononoke* 物気) as is detailed in the *Eiga monogatari* 栄華物語, for instance.⁶

When Go-Sanjō 後三条天皇 (1032-1073) ascended the throne in 1068, he was the first *tennō* in a century who did not have a Fujiwara mother. He was thus free to exercise more political power than his predecessors in order to restore imperial power, which paved the way for the *insei* period. The idea was that the reigning emperor would abdicate eventually so that his son could be placed on the throne at a young age, while the retired emperor, after taking the tonsure, would continue to rule in the background from his residence (*in* 院).⁷ It was with

⁶ This topic has attracted much attention both in Western and Japanese scholarship, as can be attested to by numerous sources. In terms of political aspects associated with the beliefs in vengeful spirits (*onryō* and *goryō* 御霊), Ooms in his chapter on "Spirits" in *Imperial Politics and Symbolics in Ancient Japan: The Tenmu Dynasty, 650-800* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009, 224-252) and Plutschow, Herbert E. in "The Fear of Evil Spirits in Japanese Culture" (*Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 3rd Series (1983): 133-151) and "The Nature of Japanese 'Evil Spirits'" (in Chapter 16 of *Chaos and Cosmos: Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), represent the most detailed studies of the topic in Western languages. This specific term is most often associated with prominent personages who represented powerful vengeful spirits and later became deified, such as Prince Sawara (750-785), Sugawara no Michizane (845-903), and Taira no Masakado (903-940). In Japanese, one of the most prominent scholars who has done much work on a variety of entities associated with the invisible realm is Komatsu Kazuhiko. His monographs *Hyōrei shinkōron* and vol. 1 (*Tsukimono*) of the series *Kaii no minzokugaku* deal with these notions of spirit possession. See Komatsu Kazuhiko *Hyōrei Shinkōron: Yōkai Kenkyū e no Kokoromi*. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1994; and *Yōkai no Minzokugaku: Tsukimono*. Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 2000. Other works are entirely devoted to the concept, such as *Nihon no onryō* by Omori Akihisa, *Goryō shinkō* by Shibata Minoru, or *Onryō, kaii, Ise jingū* and *Onryō to wa nanika: Sugawara no Michizane, Taira no Masakado, Sutokuin* by Yamada Yūji. See also Ōsumi Kazuo, *Gukanshō wo yomu (onryō no chikara)*, Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1999, 126-144.

⁷ Hurst, *Insei*, 101-106 and 125-130; Sansom, *A History of Japan*, 197-211; Adolphson, Mikael S. *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997, 76-80.

Go-Sanjō's son, Shirakawa 白河天皇 (1052-1129), that the concept of rule by retired emperors was firmly established and that power was restored to the imperial throne due to a number of successful schemes. These included the expansion of imperial control over a large number of estates (*shōen* 荘園), the allocation of land to loyal retainers, the use of ritual institutions and their leaders, as well as the establishment of signature rites in specific locations and the construction of new temples, which served to support the power he had retrieved.⁸ As we shall see in chapter three, the efforts of Shirakawa were not limited to these mundane methods, but also encompassed the manipulation of the unseen realm. It is thus no small coincidence that, although Michinaga and Shirakawa are generally acknowledged as the most influential figures of their respective periods, the data concerning the application of meta-physical beliefs also centres on these two personages, which corroborates the traditional view. Therefore, much of the material of this thesis will focus on their respective socio-political and meta-physical strategies.

Literature review

This project is unique in the sense that it touches upon aspects of various fields, as I am not aware of any other scholarship that has dealt specifically with this topic and the problems that this project is attempting to address. By considering the subject matter from a new angle and combining various aspects, I am hoping to contribute a new approach to the study of Heian Japan so that meta-physical phenomena can be evaluated from a different perspective. I should note at this point that the research conducted in this project is limited to the Heian-period

⁸ Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, 81-85; Blair, Heather Elizabeth. *Real and Imagined: The Peak of Gold in Heian Japan*. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015, 119-126.

nobility and those affiliated with prominent ritual institutions, as the primary source material is too scarce to make any valid claims about the rest of the populace.

Since this project is ultimately concerned with the reconstruction of the Heian-period cosmos and the worldview, it is tied into a consideration of the various “religious” and ritual traditions, such as worship of the heavenly and earthly deities (*jingi* 神祇),⁹ Buddhism and *onmyōdō* [陰陽道 The Way of Yin and Yang],¹⁰ as well as the organisation of the state at the highest levels in relation to the political dynamics. It is important to note that these “religious” traditions were intimately bound up with the fields of knowledge, which demonstrates how

⁹ While this body of beliefs is commonly denoted by the term Shinto, I choose to avoid this expression due to the fact that the term only acquired its present meaning following its forceful separation from Buddhism in the Meiji period (1868-1912) and the ideological purpose of creating a religious tradition that enhanced the position of the *tennō*. Furthermore, the beliefs in the *jingi* throughout the Heian period did not represent an organised set of beliefs. While loosely sharing a common sphere of physical symbols and ritual patterns, of which shrines, myths, and rituals are the most obvious examples, this set was only systematised at the highest levels of state organisation in the form of the twenty-two shrines system and the Jingikan 神祇官 [Council on Shrine Affairs]. The usage of the term implies a continuous tradition from ancient times to the present, but which, in reality, is a disparate set of elements that is held together by a basic form of coherence and has been constantly in flux in response to the different social and historical conditions. This concept has most famously been challenged by Kuroda Toshio, who argues that ‘Shinto’ did not exist as a religion before modern times and that it, in all its shapes, should be regarded as an extension of Buddhism. The term itself (*shintō* 神道), as Breen and Teeuwen note, only acquired its modern meaning quite late and in its first appearances is viewed as having had Buddhist connotations for *kami* that were refined through their contact with, and incorporation into, the Buddhist doctrine. Since Kuroda’s approach is quite radical and not undisputed and there are many issues that have still not been resolved, it is important to keep these aspects in mind in the context of the *jingi* cult. See Inoue Nobutaka (ed.), *Shinto: A Short History*. London: Routledge Curzon, 2003, ix, 3-5; Breen, John and Teeuwen, Mark, *Shinto in History: Ways of the Kami*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000, 4-6; and Breen, John and Teeuwen, Mark, *A New History of Shinto*. Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010, 19-20, 46; Kuroda Toshio, “Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion”. *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 7/1 (1981): 1-21, see 3-6.

¹⁰ For more information on the tradition of *onmyōdō* see Butler, Lee. “The Way of Yin and Yang. A Tradition Revived, Sold, Adopted”. *Monumenta Nipponica* 51/2 (1996): 189-217; Hayashi Makoto and Hayek, Matthias. “Onmyōdō in Japanese History”. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 40/1 (2013): 1-18; Masuo Shinichirō and Elaqua, Joseph P. “Chinese Religion and the Formation of Onmyōdō”. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 40/1 (2013): 19-43; Drakakis, Athanasios. “Onmyōdō and Esoteric Buddhism”. *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011: 683-691; Ooms, Herman. “Yin-Yang’s Changing Clientele, 600-800”. *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie, Bilingual Journal of the École française d’Extrême-Orient* 21 (2012): 23-37; Richey, Jeffrey L. (ed.), *Daoism in Japan: Chinese Traditions and their Influence on Japanese Religious Culture*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2015; Blair, Heather Elizabeth. “Religion and Politics in Heian Japan”. *Religion Compass* 7/8 (2013): 284-293.

intertwined physical and meta-physical endeavours were. As I will set out in the following chapters, it does not make sense to separate the two as we would be inclined to do from our modern point of view.

Hence, this thesis must necessarily draw upon the research that has been done on these individual fields. Moreover, it was these traditions that provided the countermeasures for the appearance of malevolent meta-physical forces and entities. Contemporary scholarship that takes note of these intersections between belief systems or the fields of knowledge and the meta-physical phenomena includes, for instance, Shigeta's work on the importance of *onmyōji* 陰陽師 [practitioners of *yin* and *yang*] for the daily lives of the aristocracy, since they were able to remove meta-physical influences and perform divinations,¹¹ and Yamashita's enquiries into the relation between calamities, religious traditions, strange phenomena and the *tennō*.¹² Como analyses specifically the role of *onmyōji* in the context of epidemics and how disasters shaped their ritual practice in relation to the appearance of spirits and foreign deities.¹³

Esoteric Buddhist monks (*genja* 験者) also acted as healers and were summoned to counteract invisible threats, which has been discussed by Kleine

¹¹ Shigeta devotes a whole chapter to the interaction between *onmyōji*, esoteric Buddhist monks (*genja* 験者), and medical doctors in relation to the treatment of illnesses in *Onmyōji to kizokushakai*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2004, 99-151. He also discusses the various causes of such illnesses, namely spirits of the dead, the *kami*, and the Buddhas, which he categorises as *mononoke*. See also *Heian kizoku to onmyōji: Abe no Seimei no rekishi minzokugaku*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2005; and "Onmyōdō and the Aristocratic Culture of Everyday Life in Heian Japan". *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie, Bilingual Journal of the École française d'Extrême-Orient*. 21 (2012): 65-77.

¹² Yamashita Katsuaki. "Saigai, kaii to tennō". *Kosumoroji- to shintai*, edited by Amino Yoshihiko. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2002; *Heian jidai no shūkyōbunka to onmyōdō*. Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 1996.

¹³ Como, Michael. "Onmyōji, the Earth God and Ghosts in Ancient Japan". *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie, Bilingual Journal of the École française d'Extrême-Orient*. 21 (2012): 45-96. It is also worth mentioning Hayek's short overview of the causes of illnesses as they appear in ancient and medieval *setsuwa* 説話 narratives (anecdotal tales) as well as the treatments provided by *onmyōji*, see "Abe no Seimei (921-1005) and Illness: Physicians, Masters of the Way of the Yin and Yang, and Monks in Ancient-Medieval Narratives (11th -13th centuries)". *Sokendai Cultural and Social Studies* (2006): 47-52.

and Barnes in terms of Western scholarship¹⁴ and, in much more detail, by Japanese scholars such as Taniguchi, who addresses the relation between the concept of *mononoke* and specific types of illnesses.¹⁵ Koyama looks specifically at the esoteric fire ritual (*goma shuhō* 護摩修法) as a medical treatment and describes how meta-physical entities were treated as the primary cause for illnesses.¹⁶ Since the only means to expel such meta-physical forces was through ritual, it is clear how closely the religious institutions and the production of knowledge were connected to the meta-physical realm. This relation between the ritual practitioners who were able to draw on the powers of benevolent entities and the expulsion of malevolent forces from the body has been illustrated in detail by Komatsu, who describes the role of transcendent protective entities (*gohō dōji* 護法童子) in medical treatments.¹⁷

It has become clear that the meta-physical phenomena under consideration in this thesis were made responsible for illnesses and calamities, or else served as signs of impending disaster. For this reason, many of the contexts in which the keywords appear feature the performance of divinations by either the Onmyōryō 陰陽寮 [Bureau of Yin and Yang] with bamboo stalks or the Jingikan whose method was based on turtle shells, which will be introduced in more detail in the following chapters. It is thus apparent that some of the most important institutions within the organisation of the state were pulled in to

¹⁴ Kleine, Christoph. "Buddhist Monks as Healers in Early and Medieval Japan". *Japanese Religions* 37.1&2 (2012): 13–38; Barnes, Nancy. "Lady Rokujo's Ghost: Spirit Possession, Buddhism, and Healing in Japanese Literature". *Literature and Medicine* 8 (1989): 106–121. See also Winfield, Pamela. "Curing with Kaji: Healing and Esoteric Empowerment in Japan". *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 32.1 (2005): 107–130; and Goble, Andrew Edmund. *Confluences of Medicine in Medieval Japan: Buddhist Healing, Chinese Knowledge, Islamic Formulas, and Wounds of War*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011.

¹⁵ Taniguchi Miki. "Heian kizoku no shippei ninshiki to jiryōhō: Manju ninen no sekihansō ryūkō wo tegakari ni". *Nihon Shi Kenkyūkai* 364 (1992): 58–84.

¹⁶ Koyama Satoko. *Shinran no shinkō to jujutsu: byōki chiryō to rinjū gyōgi*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2013, 11–75.

¹⁷ Komatsu, *Hyōrei shinkōron*, 229–277.

counteract the meta-physical threat, which thus attests to the significance of the invisible realm.

In terms of the keywords themselves, there are not many sources in Western languages that focus exclusively on the subject. The best-known example is probably Bargaen's work on spirit possession in *The Tale of Genji*, which is, however, confined to the field of literary studies and courtly tale literature.¹⁸ The author puts forward a very narrow definition of *mononoke* as literary tropes to express the author's or characters' repressed emotions. The frequent appearance of meta-physical entities in Heian-period sources has indeed been recognised by many as a significant aspect of the era, as well as their potential association with politics and the ruthless pursuit of worldly ambitions.¹⁹

A number of sources refer to their prominence in the culture of the Heian period.²⁰ Yet, they are still viewed as isolated phenomena and have not been considered in terms of their importance for the worldview. They have been assigned to the margins when, in fact, these types of beliefs formed an integral component of the Heian-period belief system. This can be demonstrated both in

¹⁸ Bargaen, Doris G. *A Woman's Weapon: Spirit Possession in the Tale of Genji*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997.

¹⁹ See, for example, Plutschow, "The Fear of Evil Spirits in Japanese Culture", 133; Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince*, 130-135; Tubielewicz, Jolanta. *Superstitions, Magic and Mantic Practices in the Heian Period*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1980, 10. The title of the latter and the chapter heading in Morris's work ("Superstitions") are indicative of the way in which these types of beliefs have often been perceived within Western scholarship, and how a line is drawn between "valid" beliefs (i.e. in the deities) and those that do not fall into such a defined category. See Morris, Ivan. *The World of the Shining Prince. Court Life in Ancient Japan*. New York: Kodansha International, 1994.

²⁰ Barnes, "Lady Rokujō's Ghost: Spirit Possession, Buddhism, and Healing in Japanese Literature", and Mori Masato, "Konjaku Monogatari-shū": Supernatural Creatures and Order". *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 9.2 (1982), 147-170 are further examples of the attention this topic has received in literary studies. In terms of political aspects associated with the beliefs in vengeful spirits (*onryō* and *goryō*), Ooms, in his chapter on "Spirits" in *Imperial Politics and Symbolics*, 224-252, and Plutschow, "The Fear of Evil Spirits in Japanese Culture", and Chapter 16: "The Nature of Japanese 'Evil Spirits'" in *Chaos and Cosmos*, represent the most detailed studies of the topic in Western languages. McCullough, William H. has devoted an essay to the concept of spirit possession. He is interested in the exorcisms that were performed in such contexts and is one of the few Western scholars who mentions the performance of the *āveśa* method, which will be discussed in detail in chapter three. See "Spirit Possession in the Heian period". *Studies in Japanese Culture*, edited by Saburo Ota and Rinkutaro Fukuda. Vol. 1. Tokyo: Japanese PEN Club, 1973. 91-98.

the way they related to beliefs in those entities that are generally seen to constitute deities²¹ and the way in which they provided explanations for natural phenomena. It is furthermore significant that *jaki* as a concept is hardly recognised in Western literature, despite its prevalent appearance in the official documents. Neither has the distinction between *mononoke* and *mokke* been addressed as an issue or explained, even though they represent different categories.²² *Tatari* is a concept that has received more attention in Western scholarship, but I am not aware of any single source that is entirely devoted to the notion.

In contrast, a whole field is dedicated to the examination of meta-physical beliefs within the larger area of folklore studies (民俗学 *minzokugaku*) in Japan and separate research institutions exist, such as the Higashi Ajia Kai Gakkai 東アジア怪異学会. Today, these types of belief are popularly associated with the category of *Yōkai*, which is commonly understood to encompass a variety of monsters and ghosts.²³ Countless monographs and articles have been published in relation to these keywords so that I can necessarily only select a few representative examples. Aside from Komatsu's extensive research on all types of meta-physical entities, which would generally be labelled supernatural, some of the most prominent works on *mononoke* include Yamauchi's two volumes on the meaning of the term and its material and psychological effects as a means to

²¹ The term "deities" is used cautiously here, since, as this chapter will demonstrate, the boundaries between various meta-physical entities were flexible and largely determined by the discourse implemented and supported by those in power. There were also different groups of deities of higher or lesser importance, or diverse cultural backgrounds, which will be introduced and discussed in the appropriate contexts.

²² One of the few exceptions is Wakabayashi's study of *tengu*, in which he promotes a more inclusive understanding of *mononoke* that is not restricted to spirits of the deceased and recognises the use of the term *jaki* in the *kanbun* diaries. See Wakabayashi Haruko Nishioka. *The Seven Tengu Scrolls: Evil and the Rhetoric of Legitimacy in Medieval Japanese Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012, 3-31, especially 3-7.

²³ Komatsu Kazuhiko. *An Introduction to Yōkai Culture: Monsters, Ghosts, and Outsiders in Japanese History*. Tokyo: Japan Publishing Industry Foundation for Culture (JPIC), 2017, 12-13.

control nature and suppress one's innermost feelings, as well as Ueno's book on the attitudes towards dreams and entities such as *mononoke* throughout history.²⁴ Takemitsu addresses the aspect of worship in relation to a variety of meta-physical entities that are classed as *mononoke*, while Shimura similarly traces the processes of deification of previously malevolent entities and their parallels in relation to *onryō*.²⁵ As I have mentioned previously, there are also a number of articles that deal with specific aspects of the belief in *mononoke* and related entities. Takeguchi, for instance, points to the potential Chinese origins of these notions, while Fujimoto has analysed the term in a variety of literary sources and private diaries in order to understand more about Michinaga's view of these phenomena.²⁶ In relation to *tatari*, it is worth mentioning one source that is of particular interest for this thesis, namely Ōe's discussion of the history of the concept, its socio-political implications, and the differences between *tatari* sent by the deities and those sent by vengeful spirits.²⁷

The main problem with all of these sources, both Western and Japanese, is that they fail to acknowledge the difference between *mononoke* 物気 and *mokke* 物怪, as well as *mononoke* and *jaki* 邪気, which most authors use interchangeably. This failure to classify the terminology properly has led to misconceptions and general confusion regarding the terms themselves. While Mori and Yamashita

²⁴ Yamauchi Hisashi, *Mononoke*. Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 2004; Ueno Katsuyuki. *Yume to mononoke no seishinshi: Heian kizoku no shinkō sekai*. Kyoto: Kyōto Daigaku Gakujutsu Shuppankai, 2013. It is also worth mentioning the collection of essays compiled by the Kaii Gakkai relating to the potential of the subject area, *Kaiigaku no kanōsei*. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2009.

²⁵ Takemitsu Makoto. *Mononoke to shintō*. Tokyo: Kawade Mushinsho, 2011; Shimura Kunihiro. *Kami to mononoke*. Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 1999.

²⁶ Takeguchi Ryūsuke. "Heian jidai ni okeru mononoke hasshō to shakai jōkyō ni tsuite". *Ryūkoku University the bulletin of the Graduate School of Letters*, 27 (2005): 328-344; Fujimoto Katsuyoshi. "Fujiwara no Michinaga no 'mononoke' kan: 'Midō Kanpakuki' to 'Shōyūki' nado to no kiji hikaku wo tōshite". *Journal of Aoyama Gakuin Woman's Junior College* 43 (1989): 21-43; "Ōkagami ni okeru 'mononoke' no hōhō to igi – Eiga monogatari to no jujutsu hikaku wo tōshite". *Journal of Aoyama Gakuin Woman's Junior College* 44 (1990): 149-166; and "Heianchō no mononoke no yōtai – 'Shōyūki' no kiji wo chūshin ni". *Journal of Aoyama Gakuin Woman's Junior College* 47 (1993): 77-97.

²⁷ Ōe Atsushi, *Nihon kodai no kami to rei*. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 2007.

have addressed this problem and Sako provides a detailed explanation of the differences,²⁸ most other scholars still use the terms indiscriminately. This issue is further exacerbated due to the overlap between the notions of *mononoke* and *onryō*. With this project I hope to provide a categorical overview of these concepts, but I also wish to emphasise that these entities will always remain ambiguous because they are not clearly defined in the sources themselves. We can only learn something about them by analysing the ways in which they were applied to certain situations and their function in structuring the cosmos, since it is the effects of their intervention that appear most prominently in the sources. Rather than trying to supply a detailed conceptualisation of the terms, it is far more important to recognise that, as people were generally assumed to know what was meant, it was the effect and the repercussions of any activities associated with the meta-physical realm, whether phenomena, rituals, or divinations, that were deemed to be significant.

Another topic I would like to address in this section is the relationship between Buddhism and beliefs in the heavenly and earthly deities, especially as they pertain to the position of the emperor. As is well known, a gradual process of amalgamation between the Buddhas and the *kami* took place (*shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合) based on the notion of *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹, which incorporated the *kami* into the Buddhist universe by portraying them as manifestations of the Buddhas.²⁹ Kuroda famously put forward his theory of *kenmitsu* Buddhism 顕密仏教 (or exoteric-esoteric Buddhism) as the overarching cultic system of the age that incorporated all other traditions.³⁰ Furthermore, the view is commonly held

²⁸ Mori Masato. "Mononoke, mono no satoshi, mokke, kaii: Hyōrei to kaiigenshō to ni kakawaru goshi". *Kokugo Kokubungaku Kenkyū* 27, 73–90. See 73-80; Yamashita, "Saigai, kaii to tennō", 187; Sako Nobuyuki, *Hyōrei shinkō no rekishi to minzoku*. Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 2013, 59-63.

²⁹ For more information see Teeuwen, Mark and Rambelli, Fabio (eds.), *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*, 1-53.

³⁰ Kuroda, "Shinto in the History of Religion"; "The development of the *kenmitsu* system as Japan's medieval orthodoxy". *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23.3–4 (1996): 233–269.

that the numerous temples and shrines and Buddhism specifically were responsible for the spiritual protection of the state.³¹ The notion of the *honji suijaku* paradigm implies that the Buddhas were understood to be linked to the *kami*.

However, my analysis suggests that the relations between these two traditions were more strained and ambiguous than has generally been acknowledged, and that our approach must be far more nuanced, which is an issue that I will address in chapters three and four. It appears that there was a strict division of roles when it came to the Buddhas and the *kami* in situations of crisis. Moreover, the *kami* in association with other meta-physical phenomena seem to have functioned as a moral regulator. Under specific conditions the *tennō* and his subset of *kami* were kept completely separate from other forms of interaction, which gave him the monopoly over the highest-ranking deities of the state. If that truly was the case, then it must be assumed that the *jingi* cult overall retained the ultimate power of legitimising the relations between different factions.

Even though much work has been done on the keywords, their characteristics and specific appearances in the primary sources, and their function as explanations of illnesses and disasters has been recognised, most scholarship fails to pay enough attention to their centrality for the construction of the Heian-period worldview. Most Japanese secondary sources, despite the wealth of material on offer and the valuable overviews they provide, have failed to position the beliefs relating to the category of *mono* within the overall cosmos. Hence, there remains much work to be done on the relations between *mono*, *kami* and Buddhas within the invisible realm itself. As a consequence, the additional

³¹ See, for instance, Kamata Tōji. *Myth and Deity in Japan: The Interplay of Kami and Buddhas*. Tokyo: JPIC, 2017, 78-86. Abé also notes that Buddhism was generally seen to be responsible for the protection of the state from disasters and the conversion of vengeful spirits into benevolent entities in order to restore order. See *The Weaving of Mantra: Kukai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999, 315-321.

dimension of socio-political strategies that drew upon the meta-physical realm has been disregarded, which can provide us with more insight into the dynamics of power relations. Most research has been caught up in trying to define and conceptualise such entities, when it is the functions and effects of their application to actual events that can offer more information on the people's modes of thought, the articulation of social and political relations, and, above all, the justification of the hierarchy of the physical realm in relation to the meta-physical realm.

The Sources

As the notions associated with the keywords have been dealt with extensively in the context of courtly tale literature and the *kana* sources, this project focusses on the official documents written in *kanbun* by members of the court who were directly involved in matters of the state. They include the personal diaries kept by high-ranking courtiers, and in rare cases those of the emperors themselves, as well as the official histories, and materials as they are compiled in the *Kokushi taikēi*³² and the *Gunsho ruijū*.³³ I have opted to consult as many of the diaries of the Heian period as possible in order to gain a better understanding of how frequent and widespread the application of meta-physical beliefs was and whether there were any significant differences in terms of their representation. These diaries often only present snippets of the events that occurred and often switch between a variety of subjects in order to record the most significant

³² The *Kokushi taikēi* 国史大系 is a compendium of a variety of historical materials such as political and legal documents, essays, genealogies, literary pieces and legends that was compiled in the Meiji period and covers a large timespan from the mythical age of the deities up until the Edo period (1603-1868).

³³ The *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従 is a similar collection of materials that was compiled throughout the Edo period but only officially published in 1924. This collection comprises a vast array of materials that are divided into twenty-five thematic categories from the earliest times until the beginning of the Edo period.

matters. For this reason, I will only refer to the passages that are directly related to the illustration of meta-physical intervention and the countermeasures that were undertaken.³⁴

There has been some debate regarding the question of whether the diaries can be used as valid source material or not. Technically, they were non-official records that presented personal accounts, perceptions and opinions, since they were not restrained by the regular documentary procedures.³⁵ Nevertheless, they constitute a significant part of the extant written sources of the Heian period that are still available to us today. The main reason that almost every high-ranking courtier kept such a diary was to compile an informative source for other courtiers or their descendants. They thus became important tools for maintaining authority as they contained knowledge of ritual and administrative procedures, which were passed on within a lineage.³⁶ However, this also means that the depiction of events and the choice of which incidents would be included and to what extent would be highly subjective. They omitted a lot of substantial information at times, which is mostly due to the fact that they were familiar with the notions of meta-physical entities and did not see the need to elaborate on them further or the ritual procedures associated with their appearance. As Buhrman notes, “court diaries are biased towards novelty. While a first instance in court procedure was important for establishing precedent, subsequent repetitions of the same did not have the same impact.”³⁷

Despite the fact that diaries were not official documents in the sense of not having received the official approval from the court and governing offices

³⁴ All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

³⁵ See Buhrman, Kristina Mairi. *The Stars and the State: Astronomy, Astrology, and the Politics of Natural Knowledge in Early Medieval Japan*. 2012. University of Southern California, PhD dissertation, 26 (footnote 29).

³⁶ Steininger, Brian. *Chinese Literary Forms in Heian Japan: Poetics and Practice*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2017, 167; Buhrman, *The Stars and the State*, 195.

³⁷ *The Stars and the State*, 195. For further information on the practice of diary-keeping, see Matsuzono Hitoshi. *Ōchō nikki ron*. Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppan Kyoku, 2006.

themselves, they are perhaps all the more valuable in presenting alternative views and evaluations of events. Since we are mostly concerned with the attitudes towards meta-physical phenomena and their functions in situations of crisis as portrayed by the authors, the points raised above do not have a direct impact on the evaluation of events in this project. There is, of course, the risk of embellishment by the authors and a tendency towards literary conformity, which will distort the truth. Nonetheless, the way in which these phenomena are portrayed in the primary sources is fairly consistent, which is important for the reconstruction of the worldview.

Theory and Method

In order to collect a substantial set of data, I selected four keywords and traced their appearance in a vast number of diaries and other historical documents, so that the overarching tendencies would become visible.³⁸ By far the most prominent terms were *jaki* with over one hundred and thirty examples and *tatari* with just under one hundred examples, while *mononoke* and *mokke* only appear in around thirty examples each. It is interesting to note that *onryō* occurs in less than ten examples. Furthermore, the terms tend to be applied to situations with more frequency in the late Heian period, from the late eleventh century onwards, which coincides with the diversification of beliefs that came to include more pronounced visions of the underworld and the records kept by Enmaten 閻魔天 and his assistant Taizan fukun 泰山府君.³⁹

³⁸ As it is impossible to look at all of the sources, it would be very interesting for a future project to examine the representation of such phenomena in the temple records and doctrinal texts as they were produced by Buddhist monks.

³⁹ Please refer to the overview of the examples in appendix 1. See also the diagram that traces their frequency over time in appendix 2. The deities will be introduced in more detail at a later point.

A first analysis of the sources revealed that all of the situations to which the keywords were applied followed a specific pattern that consisted of the discursive element of identifying the type of entity and the practical aspect of first of all revealing the cause and then rectifying the situation. I have thus attempted to follow this pattern throughout the thesis by beginning with a discursive presentation of the beliefs as they appear in the sources and what that can reveal about the worldview. This is followed by an examination of the ritual space and the functions that meta-physical beliefs fulfilled both within ritual itself and in ritualised schemes that were used to achieve certain socio-political goals. The last aspect this study covers is the communication processes between the realms, which is based on discursive and practical elements, since they served to draw boundaries within the meta-physical realm and demarcate groups in the mundane realm.

In order to assess the role of wrathful deities and malevolent meta-physical influences as part of the Heian cosmology, a new approach is needed that can account for the continuity between the mundane and meta-physical realms without imposing modern categorisations or institutional identities onto the subject matter. The belief system we encounter in the sources was flexible and allowed for a variety of combinations of beliefs from different traditions with the primary concern of efficacy. Therefore, any attempt to understand more about the era's cosmology must be able to encompass this vast array of notions and functions. In this way, more can be revealed about not only their interactions with humans, but also their role within the belief system itself as a central unifying and structuring element.

Aside from discussing the usefulness of a traditional functionalist approach and modifying it for the present subject matter, I have chosen the concept of an "episteme" as a method to examine the sphere of beliefs. Although the use of this particular concept as an underlying set of principles was heavily

influenced by Foucault, the approach utilised here differs from his original understanding of such a construct in a number of respects, as I will set forth in the first chapter. In the most general terms, it should be understood as a deep structure that determined authoritative and acceptable forms of knowledge about the world, and influenced surface-level appearances, which were shaped by the historical and socio-political contexts. I hope that this approach will be able to provide a new perspective on the Heian-period belief system and contribute to a better understanding of the relations between meta-physical beliefs and the official cults surrounding the deities, as well as the relations between the *kami* and Buddhist deities.

In the fourth chapter I make use of general theories of communication cycles in order to provide a theoretical illustration of the processes at work in the Heian period. It is important to add this abstract dimension to the evaluation of the communication processes between humans and deities in the Heian period, as they were framed in different modes depending on the party that had initiated the conversation. Thus, the characterisations of different models used in communication studies can help to highlight these differences. I furthermore make use of Bourdieu's notion of the "field" in that same chapter in order to examine the distribution of non-material capital among the different socio-political groups and factions. As I will demonstrate, the accumulation of capital, in this case meta-physical capital, in addition to material forms of power, determined which parts of the meta-physical realm they could interact with and the types of discourse available to them. Keeping these aspects in mind, I would now like to provide a brief overview of the chapters.

Structure

Chapter one will focus on the theoretical aspects associated with this thesis and I will explain in detail the use of specific terms and concepts. The main aim is to create a theoretical framework that can describe the plethora of beliefs as they appear in the contexts of the keywords objectively without falling back upon modern categorisations. To that end, it is necessary to determine first of all the terminology that can be used to describe the invisible realm as an extension of the mundane experience. The next step is to emphasise the importance of viewing the use of meta-physical beliefs as explanations for strange natural phenomena as part of the same sphere that was concerned with the production of knowledge about the world in the form of proto-sciences. These fields of knowledge were based as much on the observation of natural phenomena as they were on meta-physical speculation, as both aspects were seen to constitute valid explanations and were used in conjunction. I will then discuss the problems associated with the modern categories of “science”, “religion”, “magic”, and “rationality”, and the reasons for avoiding them in this thesis.

This chapter further seeks to discuss the traditional uses of functionalism and determine which aspects can be applied to the situation we encounter in Heian Japan. Since we are primarily concerned with contexts of calamities, natural disasters and disease, I will address their significance as anomalies, which implied a state of order that these events and the forces responsible for them had transgressed. This state of order is represented by the notion of an episteme, which prescribed the acceptable modes of interpretation and how chaotic elements could be transformed in order to restore harmony. The rest of the chapter is devoted to a proposed configuration of such an episteme and how it shaped the Heian-period worldview.

Chapter two presents a detailed overview of the keywords and specifies how they should be conceived of based on the primary source material. I highlight

the importance of differentiating clearly between the categories since they indicated conceptual boundaries that could not be traversed. Due to the confusion that has accompanied the study of meta-physical entities such as *mononoke*, *mokke*, *jaki*, and *onryō* because of their perceived similarity, I have attempted to disentangle the various strands and illustrate the differences in terms of nuance and function. It has thus become possible to put forward a new definition of *mononoke*, and, by extension *jaki*, as a category that was strictly separated from that of the *kami*. This chapter succeeds in delineating the mechanisms through which the meta-physical realm was structured hierarchically and the functions that the different categories had within this configuration. It furthermore demonstrates the importance of *ki* 気 (Ch. *qi*) for the functioning of the cosmos and the maintenance of relations between the mundane and meta-physical realms.

The analysis of the keywords proceeds in two parts by beginning with those entities that were associated with the level of the individual and were mainly responsible for causing illnesses, while the other half called attention to a disruption of the overall balance in the form of natural signs and calamities. For this reason, the chapter focusses first on the microcosm of the human body before moving onto the macrocosm, as the two parts of the cosmos represent an organic unit. This taxonomy calls to mind the bureaucratic organisation of the state, which, in turn, determined the relations between particular groups and factions and the meta-physical realm. While the main aim of this chapter is to supply a conceptualisation of the cosmos and depict the processes of assigning meaning to inexplicable events, it also forms the basis for the following two chapters.

Chapter three seeks to evaluate the function of meta-physical beliefs in the ritual context as a strategy to negotiate power relations on the socio-political level. An examination of the performance of rituals confirms the categories that have been stipulated in the previous chapters and provides further details on the

division of tasks among the entities belonging to the meta-physical realm. It emerges that the wrathful *kami*, especially those associated with the twenty-two shrines, are the ones that are mostly responsible for causing large-scale calamities, while the Buddhist deities protected the realm and restored order. By analysing the rituals and countermeasures performed in times of crisis, as well as the role of the meta-physical beliefs in relation to these procedures, we can learn more about the reasons for promoting certain explanations rather than others. I would also like to examine how ritualised situations served to define and govern socio-political relations, since it is through ritual that beliefs about the world are put into practice. Based on this line of enquiry, two prominent social groups emerge that used similar techniques to interact with the meta-physical realm in order to provide the positions with meta-physical symbols of validation. These two groups were the Fujiwara and their main representative Fujiwara no Michinaga, as well as the retired emperors and especially Shirakawa, who was instrumental in establishing the *insei* government.

In many cases, the appearance of certain keywords was associated with one or more specified ritual institutions, which, in turn, were affiliated with members of political factions. In this way, meta-physical beliefs could serve to draw attention to a particular institution and thus attract material support, so that the meta-physical realm emerges as a discourse that can be appropriated and manipulated in order to gain worldly benefit. I will thus demonstrate how ritualisation as an act of mediation created a specific set of symbols and values. Under the guise of maintaining harmonious relations with the invisible realm, socio-political and economic problems could be addressed and claims to power, and authority could be negotiated. In this chapter, I will also re-evaluate Kuroda's theory regarding Buddhism as the ideological paradigm for the medieval socio-political system and argue that it needs to be further refined in relation to the

jingi associated with the emperor.⁴⁰ Thus, this chapter deals with the practical dimension of the function of meta-physical beliefs for the Heian-period elite.

While chapter three focusses on specific outcomes of the interaction with the invisible realm, which was initiated through illness classed as *tatari*, chapter four is concerned with natural calamities as effects of *tatari*. However, in this chapter, my main objective is to analyse the types of communication that could be initiated by humans. Based on the networks that have already been identified in previous chapters, I will demonstrate how the various networks each had recourse to its own meta-physical discourse and how the boundaries shifted slightly depending on which specific circumstances are being examined. One of the most significant results of this chapter concerns the fact that the emperor had his own specific set of meta-physical entities, namely the high-ranking *kami*, that he could interact with in the context of communication, to the exclusion of others. Simultaneously, all other courtiers were barred from appropriating aspects of the meta-physical discourse that centred on the position of the emperor.

After introducing the various types of documents that were used to address the meta-physical realm, I discuss the various means of interaction that were available to the different groups. In the second half of the chapter, I examine some of the sutras that were predominantly recited in situations of crisis, in order to compare the doctrinal aspect of the appearance of meta-physical phenomena to their representation in the primary sources and socio-political reality, which thus also constitute aspects of the episteme. Since there appear a small number of other meta-physical entities in relation to the emperor that were not *kami* in the strict sense, in the final section of this thesis I elaborate on the significance of these entities for the imperial discourse. They fulfilled important symbolic roles

⁴⁰ The argument will be based on his seminal article “The Development of the *Kenmitsu* System as Japan’s Medieval Orthodoxy”.

that confirmed the position of the *tennō* both within the physical and meta-physical realms and were intimately bound up with articulations of kingship.

Finally, the conclusion positions the functions of meta-physical beliefs and the outcomes of this study within the overarching Heian-period cosmos. It furthermore attempts to relate the findings back to the theoretical framework and thus enhances the value of this particular approach, as it has been able to provide us with a better understanding of the worldview as a coherent and logical unit. With this study I hope to prove that beliefs in meta-physical entities such as *mononoke* cannot be dismissed as isolated phenomena that had no bearing on the body politic. They were essential components in the configuration of the cosmos and constituted a vital component in maintaining the balance between the mundane and meta-physical realms, as well as the negative and positive forces that generated the equilibrium. While the relations between the *kami* and Buddhist deities has often been discussed from the perspective of the *honji suijaku* paradigm, especially for the medieval period, this study attempts to fill in the gaps regarding the division of tasks and the relation of detrimental meta-physical forces to the divine realm.⁴¹

⁴¹ Satō Hiroo uses this notion of the divine realm and has remarked upon the lack of research performed in this field, see “Wrathful Deities and Saving Deities”. *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*, edited by Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2003, 95-114, see 114.

Chapter 1: Tracing the cosmological frame of reference

As set out in the introduction, the aim of this thesis is to examine the underlying significance of beliefs in transcendent entities in Heian Japan in terms of cosmology, the explanatory paradigm, and socio-political relations as they were expressed on a discursive and a ritual level. Such entities appeared prominently in situations of crisis, such as natural calamities or illnesses, that affected either individuals, whole groups, or even the entire nation. I will argue that such beliefs were configured in an explanatory paradigm, which provided a repertoire of explanations and established the relations between the human and the invisible realms. In order to carry out an analysis that can reveal such patterns of application and interpretation, I have selected a set of four keywords that are representative of the plethora of beliefs in these contexts.¹

The reasons for choosing these keywords were first of all that they appear predominantly in the source material. Secondly, their occurrences in the primary texts stipulated events that could not be explained, and challenged cosmological order. Due to the similar circumstances, these particular keywords often appear in clusters of terms that differentiate such passages from others, as a variety of beliefs is usually included based on the divinatory and ritual responses. Lastly, they share the common characteristic of ambiguity, when compared to concepts such as *onryō* 怨霊 or *goryō* 御霊, which could help to bring that which could not be defined into the realm of what could be described by using one of these terms. They thus supplemented and contributed to the framework based upon which explanations were provided.

¹ The keywords are *mononoke* 物気, *jaki* 邪気, *mokke* 物怪 and *tatari* 祟. They will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

In terms of method, this thesis is based on a quantitative analysis that adduces data from a wide range and large number of sources, and guided by the occurrences of the keywords. They comprise diaries written in *kanbun* 漢文 and official records that have been brought together in anthologies such as the *Kokushi taikei* 国史大系, *Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従, and *Heian ibun* 平安遺文. In this way, the predominant modes of thought can be identified at the boundaries of knowledge, which were incorporated at the highest levels of the organisation of the state. The main problem lies in the objective description and conceptualisation of the notions associated with the keywords since they have often been confronted with the Western labels of “superstition” and the “supernatural”. They invoke modern standards against which pre-modern notions of causality, interpretative patterns, and beliefs and practices are measured. Simultaneously, they degrade beliefs that do not conform to those standards by portraying them as unorthodox or illicit. Martin notes that “superstitions are beliefs or practices that presuppose a faulty understanding about cause and effect, usually by assuming notions of causality that have been rejected by modern science but may represent longstanding popular beliefs or practices.”² The term “supernatural” is inherently related to this concept as it tends to imply a force “beyond scientific understanding or the laws of nature”³ or something “that cannot be explained by science”.⁴ Furthermore, the label denotes a cause that intervenes from outside of the body of ideas that surround what is understood by the term nature and thus indicates an unnatural phenomenon.

This kind of thinking stipulates that the pre-modern world was conceptually split into two realms and that people differentiated between the

² The term did not exist in ancient cultures as a separate category. Martin, Dale B. *Inventing Superstition: From the Hippocratics to the Christians*. Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2004, 10-13.

³ See OED: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/supernatural> Accessed: 2019/05/07.

⁴ Cambridge Dictionary: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/supernatural> Accessed: 2019/05/07.

natural and the supernatural. However, most pre-modern cultures, and this is also true for Heian Japan, did not draw such a line between these two categories. Both were equally part of the cosmos and the same ontological sphere, which was structured as an interconnected and harmonious whole as long as certain ideals were upheld. It is therefore obvious that any approach based on such notions is not conducive to a true understanding of Heian-period cosmology. This particular era should rather be submitted to an approach that can account for the continuity between the mundane and the invisible realms, which exist only insofar as that some things have a visible and tangible presence in, and effect on, the world, while others remain hidden from view and are thus difficult to understand. Such continuity is further expressed through correspondences not only between these two aspects of the cosmos, but also between divine and human agency, which depend on each other.⁵

As the theoretical basis for the thesis, this chapter will address the issue of finding an appropriate meta-language to discuss the pre-modern worldview objectively whilst taking the continuity between the realms into account. This will be based on the distinctions made in the sources themselves and how certain modes of thought are represented when events defied explanation. I will also question the usefulness of the category of “religion”, which further evokes the categories of “science” and “magic”, for an evaluation of the cosmology of the Heian period, or indeed, pre-modern societies more generally. In most situations of crisis, the sources present us with a natural progression of events that supplied a fixed way of dealing with uncertainty and can aid our quest in examining the specified ways of interacting with the forces ascribed to a transcendent realm,

⁵ Orzech, Charles D. *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998, 7. For related issues, see also Paper, Jordan D. *The Spirits are Drunk: Comparative Approaches to Chinese Religion*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995, 1-20, for a discussion of approaches to Chinese religion and how they developed over time. Due to the similar conceptions of the cosmos and the fact that Japan drew heavily on Chinese ideas, these discussions are also relevant, to a certain extent, to the study of Heian Japan.

although it formed part of the same ontological sphere.⁶ This progression begins with an unusual event to which a certain belief is assigned, which is then verified through divination. It is this arrangement that informs, to a certain extent, the structure of this thesis, which begins with an examination of the keywords and the associated beliefs (chapter 2), then moves on to the ritual dimension and practical applications of such beliefs (chapter 3). The last chapter seeks to unify both aspects based on the communication processes between the realms and to illustrate the centrality of transcendent notions in the articulation of power relations (chapter 4). This first chapter will propose the concept of an episteme as a means to approach the Heian-period sphere of beliefs on one level. The episteme is conceived of here as an underlying paradigm that determined interpretative structures.

1. Describing the unseen forces and the transcendent realm

We have seen that it is inappropriate to impose certain categories and assumptions on the pre-modern Japanese worldview. Nevertheless, we need to be able to describe the phenomena we encounter in the sources objectively and categorise them accordingly. Throughout this thesis I use the term “meta-physical” in a very specific sense in order to describe the transcendent entities and forces that are being analysed, although this denotation is also not ideal. I conceive of this term as a means to refer to entities and forces that were seen to transcend the human realm of everyday life and that encompassed human existence. This other realm could thus provide a framework of orientation from which explanations could be drawn as a kind of repertoire. In Ancient Greek, *metá*

⁶ In order to avoid future confusion, as the lines drawn between categories are very delicate, I will refer to the division between the mundane and invisible as realms, as a means to distinguish between human activities and those related to the deities, spirits, and other forces. When I refer to the continuity that encompasses both realms, I will refer to that unit as an ontological sphere.

(μετά) means “after” in a temporal sense, while it is nowadays commonly understood as a higher level of abstraction of a given concept. In relation to the concepts to be discussed in this thesis, it is actually the prefix *yper* (υπερ), meaning “ultra-”, “super-”, or “over-” that was used in relation to entities that were considered to transcend the human realm. Thus, in Ancient Greek, terms such as *yperphysikós* (υπερφυσικός = supernatural, preternatural) or *yperkósmios* (υπερκόσμιος = unearthly, unworldly, supramundane) denoted transcendence. This latter term especially embodies the notion that such entities transcended the cosmos, which is interesting when we consider the fact that some beliefs associated with the “meta-physical” category were represented as anomalies that had to be reintegrated into the accepted order. In contrast, deities were just as transcendent but were considered to form part of the cosmos, if understood as representing order as opposed to chaos.

The notion of cosmos presents us with another issue since it is generally understood to denote the universe as a holistic entity. Such a view would imply that both the deities as well as the forces that caused anomalies still ontologically formed part of this all-encompassing unit. Yet, if we focus on a narrower definition of cosmos as something that is ordered, well-structured, and conforms to certain principles, then both the malevolent entities belonging to one category and the deities belonging to the other (who had been angered in some way and were thus punishing the human realm) would truly be “hyper-cosmic”. Due to their ambiguous nature, the boundaries between transcendent entities were flexible and porous. They were the product of specific conditions that gave rise to certain consequences, which can only ever denote a subset of the totality of transcendent entities and forces when constraints are applied. At best we can say with some certainty that they all formed part of an ontological sphere which included humans, and that there was a basic division between deities and other more volatile and ambiguous entities.

Similarly, the notion of something transcending the “physical” world is problematic, since, in the Heian-period worldview, as explanations, such entities had visible and tangible effects on humans and their environment and were consequently part of the physical world. Finding terms to express the continuity between the realms becomes very difficult, especially if we want to refer to them objectively and avoid modern categories. I have opted for the term “meta-physical” as it can be related to all types of transcendent entities without having to differentiate between them. Similarly, the prefix “meta-” need not necessarily imply a rigid separation between the physical and the non-physical, at least not if we rely on our modern perception of the term. It can include the notion of adding a further dimension to that which is being specified on an abstract level, which is precisely the kind of awareness I would like to promote, rather than an understanding on a different level. It must, however, be separated clearly from any Western philosophical notions of metaphysics that evoke specific associations, which are not compatible with this context and use of the term.⁷

I have already differentiated between two categories of meta-physical entities, namely deified beings and others that could have an impact on the human realm, based on the fact that this distinction was consciously made by the people themselves in the Heian period. The reasons for this division will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, but it is nevertheless interesting, from a theoretical point of view, what the existence of these two categories entails. In fact, this demarcation closely mirrors the Greek terms *pneumatikós* (πνευματικός = spiritual, ghostly, pneumatic) and *theĩkós* (θεĩκός = divine, godlike) or *theĩos* (θεĩος = divine, celestial, supernal, sublime). The former incorporates the notion of *ki/qi* 気, which has often been translated as *pneuma* or “breath”/“spirit” in Western works on East Asian religion and thought, while the latter, especially

⁷ van Inwagen, Peter, and Sullivan, Meghan: “Metaphysics”, see <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/metaphysics/> Accessed: 2019/05/07.

theíos embodies the celestial and divine counterpart to other types of meta-physical entities. Again, the notion of *ki* will be discussed in the next chapter, as it is of vital importance for an understanding of the Heian-period beliefs in the meta-physical realm. The distinction between these two categories is important for the way in which we conceptualise the meta-physical realm and its continuity with the mundane world.

A variety of meta-physical forces and entities were thought to have an impact on the mundane realm and can be seen to include not only deities and lower-ranking, ambiguous entities, but also influences such as *yin* and *yang* 陰陽 and *wu xing* 五行 (the Five Phases). This aspect of continuity has been addressed by a number of scholars. Morris notes that, in general, an ultimate reality must be posited “that is substantial to the material world” and further distinguishes between a perception of reality that is distinct from phenomenal reality.⁸ Seidel argues for the Chinese context, which in this instance also applies to Japan, that there is no separation between the spirit worlds and the natural world in any absolute sense. While the realms must be approached relative to one another, this does not mean that the spirit realm is superior to the human realm.⁹ As we shall see at a later point, these two realms were in fact very much co-dependent. An awareness of the fluidity between the realms as part of one overarching sphere must thus inform our approach to the pre-modern belief systems that we encounter in the Heian period.

⁸ Morris, Brian. *Religion and Anthropology: A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 45.

⁹ Seidel, “Chronicle of Taoist Studies in the West 1950-1990”. *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 5 (1989): 223–348, see 254.

2. Approaching the Heian-period sphere of beliefs

The keywords appear in very specific types of situations alongside a multitude of beliefs, which often required the presence of a variety of ritual specialists whose practices and explanations were combined for the sole purpose of efficacy. Due to the various ritual responses and methods of divination, the keywords are usually accompanied by various other terms relating to the meta-physical realm. Thereby they formed clusters which can readily be identified in the primary sources and draw the attention of the reader to those passages. These clusters spanned different traditions of thought, which are commonly distinguished as Buddhism, the *jingi* 神祇 cult, and *onmyōdō* 陰陽道 [the Way of Yin and Yang]. They are representative of the thought at the time and point to the overall tendency towards integration and syncretism.

Based on the continuity between the meta-physical and the mundane realms and the flexibility of the belief system that allowed for various combinations of the different traditions, we must be careful not to apply certain categories that we would like to infer due to our modern point of view. Ooms has mentioned this problem in the context of identifying Daoist elements in the pre-modern Japanese belief system and acknowledges the fact that the contours of the religious traditions are porous and variable. He notes: “We now know that we have found it all too easy to project back into the ancient past institutional identities that took time to develop.”¹⁰ Just as Daoism was only present in a series of fragments, it makes sense to conceive of these particular situations in terms of elements from different traditions that complemented each other. Faure also recognises the need to cut across sectarian lines and boundaries if one hopes to arrive at a better understanding of the beliefs in various deities and he focusses

¹⁰ Ooms, Herman. “Framing Daoist Fragments, 670-750”. *Daoism in Japan: Chinese Traditions and their Influence on Japanese Religious Culture*, edited by Jeffrey L. Richey. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2015, 37.

on the conglomeration of networks.¹¹ It is thus necessary to find a new approach in order to describe these situations of crisis on a meta-level. A key criterion of such an approach should be that no boundaries need to be forced upon the different traditions or schools of thought, as this would inhibit a complete representation of the issue at hand.

2.1 Conceptualising the parameters of explanation and interpretation

An approach that can evaluate various beliefs and traditions on one level does not imply that there were no differences between them, whether in doctrinal terms or regarding the fact that they were institutionalised separately. However, in terms of the people's awareness of the various phenomena and ideas, such beliefs manifested themselves through their perceptions of the world and could be combined freely and equally when they were confronted with specific circumstances. Since they all formed part of the same sphere of beliefs, and, for that matter, ontological sphere, this needs to be emphasised clearly. We must hence be extremely cautious when applying terms such as "religion", for instance, as we run the risk of imposing modern categories onto something that is not there.

One of the most notable features of the organisation of the state throughout the Nara and Heian periods is undoubtedly that the different traditions were institutionally incorporated into the construction of the governmental structure, in the form of specialised departments, such as the Jingikan 神祇官 [Council on Shrine Affairs] and the Onmyōryō 陰陽寮 [Bureau of Yin and Yang].¹² Moreover, Buddhist institutions and shrine precincts also

¹¹ Faure, Bernard. *The Fluid Pantheon: Gods of Medieval Japan* Volume 1. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015, 13.

¹² For more information on the Jingikan and its ritual duties see Naumann, Nelly. "The State Cult of the Nara and Early Heian Periods". *Shinto in History: Ways of the Kami*, edited by John Breen and Mark Teeuwen. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000, 47–67. See 48–63. Information on

became notable socio-political agents (*kenmon* 権門, “gates of power”) due to the accumulation of tax-free estates (*shōen* 莊園) and their relationship with the court nobility.¹³ It is this intersection of beliefs in a transcendent realm as they were promoted by ritual institutions, and the production of knowledge concerning the mundane realm as advocated by the state departments, that needs to be conceptualised theoretically. The continuity between the realms intrinsically affected the formation and generation of knowledge that applied to both realms. We could thus refer to the sphere as a belief-knowledge system.

The incorporation of the observation of nature and physical phenomena into the departments that were oriented towards the meta-physical realm at the highest levels of state organisation officially promoted the integration of these two aspects. When generic explanations failed to account for the effects that invisible processes and forces often had on the world, the culturally and historically determined belief system and its various doctrines, schools of thought and practice provided a multidimensional cosmology and a repertoire from which patterns to interpret the world could be drawn. It could be said that various cosmologies merged in order to form such a corpus of notions. They were complementary aspects that were immediately involved in the vision of statecraft and therefore the legitimisation of the position of the ruling elite. With the implementation of Chinese-style penal (*ritsu* 律) and administrative (*ryō* 令) codes during the late seventh and eighth centuries, a centralised state emerged. This organisation sought to validate the positions of the elites with the *tennō* at the apex of a complex hierarchy, to bring the periphery under control of the

both departments is provided by Grapard, Allan in “The Economics of Ritual Power”. *Shinto in History: Ways of the Kami*, edited by John Breen and Mark Teeuwen. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000, 68–94. See 69–73. For a history of the establishment of the Onmyōryō see Tamura Enchō, “Onmyōryō seiritsu izen”. *Onmyōdō sōsho*, edited by Murayama Shūichi et al. Tokyo: Meichō Shuppan, 1991, 35–58. Hérail, Francine. *La cour et l'administration du Japon à l'époque Heian*. Genève: Droz, 2006. For information on the Jingikan, see 33–42.

¹³ See Adolphson, *The Gates of Power* and Kuroda, “The Development of the Kenmitsu System”.

centre, and to formalise ritual and the associated cultic sites, which were again hierarchically organised depending on their relation to the ruling elite.¹⁴

Ritual was a defining aspect of the *ritsuryō* state, which is apparent from the main division between the departments of the Jingikan, which constituted a bureau in itself mainly responsible for cultic practices, and the Daijōkan 太政官 [The Bureau of State Affairs], which, with its subordinate bureaus, was concerned with policy-making duties.¹⁵ The latter determined all aspects of life at court and managed the affairs of the state. The education of the literati, consisting of aristocrats and priests, who were responsible for record-keeping and the production of government documents, was based on the study of major Confucian texts and Chinese dynastic histories, which highlights the prominence of Chinese learning at the Heian court. There were six programmes at the state college where the literati were trained, namely classics, history, law, mathematics, phonetics, and calligraphy, of which the classics were considered to be the most prestigious subject to engage in.¹⁶ This means that at one end of the spectrum were those fields of knowledge that focussed on the study of specific, tangible subjects with a this-worldly orientation, and formed part of each courtier's education. At the other end of the spectrum were those proto-sciences that were embedded in the very structure of the government and sought to provide explanations of the natural world. This is embodied by the Jingikan, the Onmyōryō, and, to a certain extent, the Tenyākuryō 典藥寮 [the Bureau of Medicine], which was of lower status in the overall administrative system.

The Jingikan was concerned with the regular worship and performance of rituals for the heavenly and earthly deities as well as the emperor. Thereby,

¹⁴ According to Piggott these were the main purposes of the codes, 167-168. For a detailed discussion of the establishment of the *ritsuryō*, see Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*.

¹⁵ Grapard, "The Economics of Ritual Power", 69. For a discussion of the importance of ritual for the *ritsuryō* state see Miller, "Ritsuryō Japan".

¹⁶ Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 72, 99.

harmonious relations with the invisible realm could be maintained, which, in turn, provided protection for the imperial family and the state as a whole. The officials of this department performed turtle-shell divinations in order to determine the cause of a calamity or illness, which was the department's main contribution to the production of knowledge.¹⁷ The Onmyōryō was responsible for the observation of the sky and astronomical phenomena (*tenmon* 天文), time-keeping, and the production of the calendar, alongside the performance of divinations with bamboo stalks, which was based on the principles of *yin* and *yang* and the sexagenary cycle.¹⁸ In times of crisis, it was officials from these two departments that would be summoned to identify the cause of an event and provide an explanation, which would then help to determine the appropriate countermeasures. Given their close association with beliefs in various deities and forces, as well as the underlying Chinese notions, certain circumstances prompted meta-physical and cosmological speculation by drawing on the beliefs that formed the foundation of their respective departments.

A further specialised department that was intimately associated with the production of knowledge and the delivery of explanations was the Tenyakuryō. The specialists were able to provide treatments for the *tennō* and the nobility in the form of acupuncture, moxibustion, the administering of herbs and medicines,

¹⁷ Ōe, *Nihon kodai no kami to rei*, 15-16, 33-38, 70-74; Naumann, "The State Cult of the Nara and Early Heian Period", 49-51; Hérail, *La cour et l'administration du Japon*, 33-38.

¹⁸ Grapard, "The Economics of Ritual Power", 69, 72-73 and "Religious Practices". *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 2, edited by Donald H. Shively and William H. McCullough. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 521, 547-548; Buhrman, *The Stars and the State*, 34-35; Shigeta Shinichi, "Onmyōdō and the Aristocratic Culture of Everyday Life in Heian Japan". *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie, Bilingual Journal of the École française d'Extrême-Orient* 21 (2012): 65-77, see 67-68; Yamashita Katsuaki. "The Characteristics of Onyōdō and Related Texts". *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie, Bilingual Journal of the École française d'Extrême-Orient* 21 (2012): 79-105, see 84; Hérail, *La cour et l'administration du Japon*, 185-190. The "Ten Heavenly Stems" (*tankan* 天干), which consisted of the Five Phases in their dual aspect, and the "Twelve Terrestrial Branches" (*jūnishi* 十二支), constituted by the twelve zodiac signs, together form the sexagenary cycle (sixty-day cycle; sixty-year cycle). See Frank, Bernard. *Kata-imi et Kata-tagae: Études Sur Les Interdits de Direction à l'Époque Heian*. 2nd ed. Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Japonaises, 1998, 222-224.

bone-setting, and exorcisms.¹⁹ It is important to note that the theoretical framework was supplied by correlative *yin-yang* (*onmyō* 陰陽) thought and the cyclical principles of the Five Phases (*gogyō* 五行), which were linked with the body and its functioning. The body was thought to consist of functional systems, which were all connected to each other.²⁰ Aside from these institutionalised forms of the production of knowledge, we must not forget that monks also participated in this process. They engaged in divinations and calendrical sciences, such as the production of horoscopes and the prediction of eclipses, which is commonly referred to as a form of Buddhist astrology (*sukuyōdō* 宿曜道 [The Way of Lodges and Planetoids]),²¹ as well as medical practices. It was esoteric Buddhist monks (*genja* 験者) and wandering priests (*hijiri* 聖) that provided medical care for the ruling elite and the masses. The Buddhist tradition had acquired medical knowledge from China since it had been partly transmitted in the Buddhist scriptures.²² As we will see, Buddhist monks had another way of providing knowledge in critical situations, namely by means of the ritual practice of *kaji* 加持, which, much like divinations, served to identify the cause of an event that was considered to be anomalous.

The meta-physical beliefs to be examined here are most prominent where the domains of knowledge related to the proto-sciences, and beliefs in the deities

¹⁹ Sugimoto Masayoshi and Swain, David L. *Science and Culture in Traditional Japan, A.D. 600-1854*. MIT East Asian Science Series 6. Cambridge, Mass. and London: M.I.T. Press, 1978, 36. Hérail, *La cour et l'administration du Japon à l'époque de Heian*, 362-364.

²⁰ Drott, Edward R., "Gods, Buddhas, and Organs: Buddhist Physicians and Theories of Longevity". *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 37.2 (2010): 247-273, see specifically 255-262.

²¹ Grapard, "Religious Practices", 548. Kotyk, Jeffrey, "DDB Entry: Sukuyōdō 宿曜道", <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=%E5%AE%BF%E6%9B%9C%E9%81%93> Accessed: 2018/07/25. See also Yano Michio. "Bukkyō kyōten no naka no reki, sukuyōkyō", *Onmyōdō sōsho*, edited by Murayama Shūichi et al. Tokyo: Meichō Shuppan, 1991-1993, 357-365; Momo Hiroyuki. "Sukuyōdō to sukuyō kanmon", *Onmyōdō sōsho*, edited by Murayama Shūichi et al. Tokyo: Meichō Shuppan, 1991-1993, 367-387; Yamashita Katsuaki. "Tenmon, reki, sukuyōdō". *Onmyōdō sōsho*, edited by Murayama Shūichi et al. Tokyo: Meichō Shuppan, 1991-1993, 411-425.

²² Drott, "Gods, Buddhas, and Organs", 249-250.

and invisible forces intersect. There was no secular sphere, since the physical and the meta-physical realms formed a seamless whole, and knowledge could only be produced, especially regarding invisible processes, by drawing on both aspects. Visible effects with seemingly invisible causes could not be explained without recourse to meta-physical entities whose presence in the human realm was thought to have visible or tangible consequences. This relates to the main contexts that the keywords appear in, namely natural calamities and their consequences, epidemics, prolonged illnesses, childbirth, or unusual phenomena, which were factors of primary concern to the Heian-period populace.²³ The knowledge that was available combined with meta-physical beliefs in order to provide the most logical explanations of the physical world.

This particular arrangement is further characterised by the amalgamation of different systems of thought. They were not mutually exclusive but rather merged in ways that seemed most reasonable and produced the most beneficial and efficacious outcome. As Grapard notes, the cultic realm was combinatory, and all practices were joined and assimilated.²⁴ This idea of a comprehensive worldview is reminiscent of Kuroda Toshio's formulation of the *kenmitsu taisei* 顕密体制 theory, which was supposed to lend consistency to the variety of beliefs apparent in the sources and demonstrate that they were fully integrated into all levels of the social and political order. In this view, all the various forms of belief, including those in the indigenous deities (*kami* 神) and *yin-yang* practices (*onmyōdō* 陰陽道) are seen to coalesce around esoteric Buddhism as a binding element.²⁵ The combination of various aspects is apparent institutionally, ritually,

²³ These observations stem from the examination of the diaries and historical documents and can thus only be said to apply to the Heian aristocracy, although these tendencies were probably more widespread.

²⁴ Grapard, "Religious Practices", 523.

²⁵ Kuroda, "The Development of the Kenmitsu System", 265; Dobbins, James C., "Editor's Introduction: Kuroda Toshio and His Scholarship", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23.3/4 (1996): 217–232, see 217, 222–225. Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, 11. In line with Buhrman's

and epistemologically. In cases of crisis, ritual specialists from various departments were summoned to offer their expertise.²⁶ Regardless of which tradition or system of thought the ritual specialists were associated with, their efforts often spanned various fields of knowledge and belief and were joined in the process of assigning meaning to events, especially those that defied explanation.

The institutions that formed part of the organisation of the state and generated the fields of knowledge observed specific procedures with meticulous attention to detail. Additionally, they kept extensive records of precedents, which they consulted and then repeated whatever methods had proven to be efficacious before. It is thus not hard to see the “scientific” value in these endeavours, especially with regard to divinations and ritual countermeasures in situations of crisis, although the notion of “science” is problematic. In Lloyd’s evaluation of pre-modern scientific endeavours, he presents an alternative view of what “science” means. Rather than defining science in terms of truth it is better “to see it as a matter of the ambition to arrive at some understanding of the external, non-social world”, i.e. of the natural world.²⁷ Again, we need to be cautious when

concerns regarding this hypothesis, I also doubt whether Heian-period cosmology (even though his theory centres on medieval Japan, the important tendencies were already apparent then) was as systematic as this idea suggests and whether esoteric Buddhism really was as fundamental and pervasive as it is made out to be. Despite its obvious importance and broad influence, the primary sources discussed in this thesis indicate certain situations in which Buddhist countermeasures were not appropriate and that there was a high degree of flexibility regarding the categories that constitute Heian cosmology. These issues will be examined in more detail throughout the thesis. *The Stars and the State*, 11.

²⁶ In 962, when Enyū Tennō was having problems with his legs, *genja* 験者 (mostly esoteric Buddhist monks or *yin-yang* practitioners), *onmyōji* 陰陽師 (*yin-yang* practitioners), as well as medical doctors were summoned in order to provide advice and treatment: 二月四日: 去ぬる月の晦の間、御足、患ふ。尚ほ尋常に非ず。陰陽師を召し、占ひ申さしむべし。又、医家を召し、其の由を問はしむべし。又、御祈を奉仕せしむべし。 <http://rakusai.nichibun.ac.jp/kokiroku/list.php> Accessed: 2018/07/27. According to Shigeta Shin’ichi, the ones performing the prayers would have been *genja* (*Heian Kizoku to Onmyōji*, 100). It is also mentioned in the entry that six monks performed the *shuhō* 修法 for fifty days, which also indicates the involvement of Buddhist traditions.

²⁷ Lloyd, G E R. *Ancient Worlds, Modern Reflections: Philosophical Perspectives on Greek and Chinese Science and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, 14.

using terms such as “nature”, since the mundane and meta-physical realms form a seamless, holistic unit. Such ambitions represent analogous ways of trying to understand, explain and predict a wide variety of phenomena, even though “science” as a modern notion is not applicable to premodern civilisations.²⁸ In a similar vein, Barry Barnes’s approach provides some helpful insight. He suggested that notions of science could be studied in a variety of cultural traditions in the form of causal explanations since most scientific thought is not inductive, deductive or logical, it is rather analogical and metaphorical. Paradigms can emerge that are able to produce analogies based upon which the natural world is perceived. Furthermore, since scientific thought is established through conditions, what is referred to as a fact can vary considerably between two different paradigms.²⁹

It is clear that we need to find a way to conceptualise this sphere in which beliefs in a meta-physical realm and the production of knowledge intersect and we need to approach it as one logical and coherent unit. The existence of beliefs concerning an invisible realm, the use of ritual measures and other modes of interaction between the realms, and the pursuit of knowledge, very quickly evoke notions of “religion”, “magic”, and “science” and the associated criterion of “rationality”. I would now like to address these concepts individually and argue that they are not applicable in the context of pre-modern Japan.

2.2 The fallacy of imposing categories onto pre-modern cosmologies

I have tried to avoid terms such as “religious” and “religion” as much as possible when referring to the traditions of indigenous cults and those introduced from

²⁸ Ibid.: 23.

²⁹ Kippenberg, Hans G. and Luchesi, Brigitte. *Magie: Die sozialwissenschaftliche Kontroverse über das Verstehen fremden Denkens*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1987, 214-215.

the continent. It is of utmost importance at this point to clarify the use of these terms and address some of the issues associated with these concepts. Although certain aspects are relevant to the study of the Heian-period sphere of beliefs, we must clearly delineate the areas that consist of similar features as they are evoked by these terms without applying their inherent biases.

The first problem is that there is no general consensus regarding the term “religion”, which leaves the field of Religious Studies without a clearly defined subject matter, despite giving it its name.³⁰ It is generally taken to refer to “a separate, practice-defined domain” and has become generalised in the wake of Western colonialism by isolating certain behaviours and labelling them.³¹ The problem was, however, that many of those behaviours were not considered to constitute a separate domain in other traditions, which means that a region-specific bias was imposed on other cultures.³² The only distinction made officially was between practices that the state considered to be orthodox (*seitō* 正統) and those it deemed to be heterodox (*itan* 異端), which could pose a threat to the state’s control. Such practices were specified in the *Sōniryō* 僧尼令, first promulgated in 701 as part of the *Taihō ritsuryō*, which represented an effort to regulate the actions of monks and nuns.³³ Teachings and teaching methods that this code defined as heretical included oracles, magical spells, and trances.³⁴ If any such activities were detected, the participants would be severely punished, which was supposed to deter people from engaging in such practices. A passage

³⁰ Pollack, Detlef. “Was ist Religion?”. *Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft* 3/2 (1995): 163-190, see 162-166; Bergunder, Michael. “What is Religion? The Unexplained Subject Matter of Religious Studies”. *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 26 (2014): 246-286, see 247.

³¹ Miles, Jack. “How the West Learned to Compare Religions”. *The Norton Anthology of World Religions: Buddhism*, edited by Donald S. Lopez. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2015, 22.

³² Ibid.: 8.

³³ Part of the *Sōniryō* can be found here:

<https://miko.org/~uraki/kuon/furu/text/rituryou/yourou/yourou.htm> Accessed: 2019/04/30.

³⁴ Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 28-29.

in the *Shoku Nihongi* from the third day of the fourth month in the year 729 specifies which practices counted as heretical and the types of punishment that would be administered. These depended on the severity of the crime and included exile and the death penalty.³⁵

Contemporary scholarship often uses the term “magic” to refer to such practices, as is the case with a section heading in one of Ooms’s chapters, which is titled “Magic, Legitimate and Illegitimate”.³⁶ He explains how Buddhist spells for healing purposes were clearly differentiated from non-Buddhist formulae and were often linked to politically subversive intentions. Due to the priority given to Buddhist techniques, they came to play an indispensable role by providing protection for the state and the populace against cosmic forces.³⁷ However, “magic” is not defined by Ooms and it is not a term we encounter in the primary sources. Usually, they were referred to as techniques (*jutsu* 術) and were associated with spells and incantations (*jujutsu* 呪術, *jusō* 呪詛). In the *Sōniryō*, article 2, for instance, such methods are referred to as “oracular practices of the small way” (*shōdo fujutsu* 小道巫術).³⁸ What Ooms refers to as “black magic” in his translation also imposes a Western notion onto these heterodox practices, which are actually referred to as illusory techniques (*genjutsu* 幻術). I believe that a literal translation of the characters presents us with a better approach to the

³⁵ These regulations followed the events surrounding Prince Nagaya’s coup, who had been accused of practising “black magic”. For further details see Ooms, *Imperial Politics*, chapter 9, who includes a full translation of these regulations on p. 241.

天平元年（七二九）四月癸亥【三】〇癸亥。勅。内外文武百官及天下百姓。有学习異端、蓄積幻術。压魅呪咀、害傷百物者。首斬、從流。如有停住山林、詳道仏法。自作教化。伝習授業。封印書符。合藥造毒。万方作怪。違犯勅禁者。罪亦如此。其妖詛書者。勅出以後五十日内首訖。若有限内不首、後被糾告者。不問首・從。皆咸配流。其糾告人賞絹卅疋。便徵罪家。又勅。毎年割取伊勢神調[] [糸+施の旁] 三百疋。 <http://www.j-texts.com/jodai/shokuall.html> Accessed: 2019/05/10.

³⁶ Ooms, *Imperial Politics and Symbolics*, 242-245.

³⁷ Ibid.: 243-245.

³⁸ <https://miko.org/~uraki/kuon/furu/text/rituryou/yourou/yourou.htm> Accessed: 2019/04/30.

concepts than the use of categories that cannot be found in the sources. Indeed, as Otto demonstrates by recounting the history of the Western discourse on “magic”, both this category and that of “religion” disintegrate upon closer inspection, especially when they are contrasted with each other.³⁹

Malinowski differentiated between “magic” and “religion” by stating that magical rituals always served a concrete purpose, while religious rituals did not aim to fulfil any objectives beyond the performance of the ritual itself.⁴⁰ Such a distinction becomes problematic when considering the Heian period, as such a ritual as *kaji* 加持,⁴¹ for instance, serves the dual purpose of expressing issues central to human life in and of itself, whilst also aiming to cure an illness and restore the body to its natural state. No line can be drawn between these categories when a single ritual encompasses both aspects. Frazer conceptualised “religion” in terms of subjection and “magic” as a form of manipulation, which, again, cannot be corroborated when applied to most cultures and societies. He conceived of “magic” as a mode of thought due to which things could affect each other through a secret form of sympathy. When similar things were seen to produce similar results, Frazer referred to the process as “imitative magic”.⁴² The weakness of the king, for instance, could have a direct impact upon the well-being of his people, which is a familiar motif in diaries dating to the Heian period.

³⁹ The three main reasons for this disintegration are that there is no consensus regarding a definition of the term “magic”, that the primary source material contradicts many of the requirements that such a category would need to fulfil, and that the concept itself is ethnocentric. See Otto, Bernd-Christian. *Magie: Rezeptions- und diskursgeschichtliche Analysen*. Berlin: DeGruyter, 2011, 77.

⁴⁰ Malinowski was interested in the conceptual proximity of the categories of “magic”, “science”, and “religion” by defining them as follows: “Science” represents a rational engagement with reality, “magic” an attempt to manipulate reality in order to achieve a certain outcome, and “religion” as a manifestation of a belief system that regulates the position of humans, their origin and goals within the cosmos; see Stolz, Fritz. *Grundzüge der Religionswissenschaft*. Stuttgart: UTB, 2001, 27-29. The inherent problems of such an approach are immediately obvious.

⁴¹ A ritual through which the practitioner received the powers of a Buddhist deity in order to perform an exorcism or heal an illness. See, for instance, Koyama, *Shinran no shinkō to jujutsu*, 15; Komatsu, *Hyōrei Shinkōron*, 238; Winfield, “Curing with Kaji”.

⁴² Kippenberg, Hans G. *Die Entdeckung der Religionsgeschichte: Religionswissenschaft und Moderne*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1997, 138-139.

Yet, “religion” can contain modes of action that aim to effect a certain goal through sympathetic means, while orthodox beliefs concerning spirits and gods can also be part of “magical” actions. Later scholars realised that such rigid separations had to be discarded and advocated concepts such as a magico-religious continuum that could help to account for the wide variety of ritual actions. However, such theoretical developments eventually led to the disintegration of these categories, which became empty and devoid of meaning.⁴³

In my view, we are conflating and confusing linguistic uses of terms such as “religion” or “religious” with empirical data and traditions, when attempting to distinguish behaviours and practices that are “religious” from that which is “not religious”. It presupposes an inherent understanding of the term “religious”, which, as a subjective phenomenon, simply cannot be verified. Bergunder also notes that the three main strategies being pursued in Religious Studies in order to define its subject matter, “all, at least implicitly, assume the existence of a specific kind of “religion” that they don’t explain nor [sic] reflect upon any further.”⁴⁴ He distinguishes between two types of “religion”: religion 1 represents explicit definitions of religion, while religion 2 represents the common everyday understanding of religion.⁴⁵ Many attempts have been made to arrive at an explicit definition of “religion”,⁴⁶ while the second understanding is perhaps easier to conceive of, but also inherently subjective.

Seiwert tries to avoid this “subjectivity problem” by stating that rather than the type of experience considered to be “religious”, it is the interpretative paradigm that is of importance. He conceptualises this paradigm as a normative worldview that serves to structure such experiences.⁴⁷ This worldview is defined

⁴³ Otto, *Magie: Rezeptions- und diskursgeschichtliche Analysen*, 82-90.

⁴⁴ Bergunder, “What is Religion?”, 248.

⁴⁵ Ibid.: 252.

⁴⁶ See, for example, Pollack, “Was ist Religion?” for a comprehensive overview of all the different methods that have been used to explain the concept of religion.

⁴⁷ Seiwert, Hubert. *‘Religiöse Bedeutung’ als wissenschaftliche Kategorie*. The Hague: Mouton, 1981, 64-66.

as something that is inherently subjective, since it is based on an individual's perception of reality. Thus, it does not include everything that exists objectively, but only that which is understood to exist within the worldview. Based on the fact that we are raised within a specific worldview that is transmitted socially, this model allows for an intersubjective participation in a particular worldview, although I find this problematic since no two perceptions of reality will ever be identical, neither can such a generalisation apply to larger groups and communities. In my opinion, this definition rather relates to notions of identity.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, these aspects and some of the other points he makes are useful for the differentiation and specification of the terminology to be used in this thesis, as well as the identification of certain useful functions of a worldview.

According to Seiwert, the worldview is a necessary condition for the orientation of humans in their world. It serves to define reality, relate elements of reality to each other, and evaluate the elements of reality. They also contain cognitive (the knowledge of what is) and normative (what should be) aspects, which means that there are different levels to a worldview, which do include not only realities, but also possibilities.⁴⁹ As I frequently use the terms "worldview" and "cosmology" in this thesis, I would like to define concretely what I mean by these terms. I understand and apply the term worldview in a literal sense as denoting the perception of the world and events that occur in the world, which, while subjective, consists of general elements that promote a certain view of the external world that a group or community has in common. Despite not presenting an interpretative paradigm itself, it reflects general modes of thought that members can fall back upon. It is delimited by the context, the historical period, and geographical boundaries. I will argue that the interpretative paradigm should be seen as a separate entity, which I will delineate in relation to the concept of an

⁴⁸ Ibid.: 66, 70.

⁴⁹ Ibid.: 67-69, 81-82.

episteme. Cosmology, in my opinion, encapsulates the entirety of human knowledge and beliefs about the world, the universe, and all transcendental realms, and thus encompasses all physical and meta-physical phenomena. It represents the aim to arrive at some sort of understanding of the cosmos, i.e. of everything there is, and to integrate chaotic elements, i.e. phenomena that are not understood, into an ordered structure. The same can be said about today's natural sciences, for example, and the aim to understand more about the origin and structure of the universe.

Another alternative mode of explaining "religion" has been proposed by Geertz, who conceptualised it as a symbolic system. This approach also necessitates a paradigm, which allows sacred symbols to synthesise a people's ethos and their worldview. In this context, the worldview is understood to encompass the most comprehensive ideas of order. Due to religious symbols, human actions can be attuned to this worldview and the cosmic order by formulating a congruence between mundane reality and a particular metaphysic.⁵⁰ Without going into any specific details of this well-known theory, one important aspect it addresses is the function of religion as a means of articulating a general order of existence. It is through symbols that a general orientation can be provided in nature, which is exactly what we encounter in situations of crisis in Heian Japan. "Religious" beliefs can be seen as attempts to bring anomalous events into the circle of that which can be explained within an accepted scheme of things.⁵¹ Again, an inherent understanding of the term "religion" is presumed, which is not applicable to Japan.

The notion of religion we are familiar with today was only shaped at the end of the nineteenth century due to the rise of the natural sciences and the

⁵⁰ Geertz, Clifford. "Religion as a Cultural System". *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. London: Fontana Press, 1993, 89-90.

⁵¹ Ibid.: 99-101.

materialism debate,⁵² when the study of nature and the study of the spirit or the infinite were separated. The older meaning of religion that referred to a certain procedure is reminiscent to a certain extent of the Confucian ideals of governing through *li* 理 and *yi* 義 (ritual and justice), which were transmitted to Japan in the early seventh century and included in the Seventeen Article Constitution.⁵³ It is this separation of “religion”, “science” and “magic” that is thus a fairly modern development in the West, which was applied to foreign cultures by Western scholars. As we have seen, this goes back to Malinowski and others such as Frazer and Durkheim whose work was set in the context of evolutionism that saw the philosophical progression of societies as developmental stages from the magic of “primitive cultures”, through “religion” to “science”.⁵⁴ “Science” and “magic” also present very similar concepts and are only differentiated based on the criterion of rationality, which in itself is another subjective form of evaluation. Usually “magic” is seen to be based on a fallacious way of interpreting things or making connections. There is also the further epistemological problem of objective criteria concerning statements of truth. Western notions of rationality, causality and logic become standards against which the understanding of reality of other peoples is measured, which is a categorical mistake.⁵⁵ These standards cannot apply when the system is coherent and logical in itself.

If there is no theoretical consensus regarding these terms, how can we hope to apply them usefully to the pre-modern Japanese context, in which these categories were not differentiated in the first place? I will thus avoid these terms as much as possible and will be wary of applying them to any given situation or

⁵² Bergunder, “What is Religion?”, 86-87.

⁵³ Holcombe, “Ritsuryō Confucianism”, 552-553.

⁵⁴ Cancik, Hubert, Gladigow, Burkhard, and Laubscher, Matthias (eds.). *Handbuch Religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1988, 32, 187.

⁵⁵ Otto, *Magie*, 111-112, 120. The concept of “magic” has also been discussed in detail by Mauss, Marcel. “Entwurf einer allgemeinen Theorie der Magie”. *Soziologie und Anthropologie* 1. Frankfurt: VS Verlag, 1999, 43-179. See 48-170.

phenomenon. Nevertheless, the achievements of Religious Studies do present us with some useful conceptions of certain aspects that may help to provide an understanding of the Heian-period continuum – both with regards to the realms and the continuity between the different fields of knowledge and belief. Such aspects deal with the functions of concepts such as “religion”, which will now be discussed briefly in relation to the theoretical approach of functionalism.

2.3 Evaluating the “belief-knowledge system” through functions

As Geertz and others have already noted, one significant aspect of “religious” belief – however one may define it – is its ability to provide orientation within the cosmos and to offer explanations when other reasoning is elusive. While beliefs in transcendental forces provide a consistent view of that which can be controlled, they are also invoked at the boundaries of human knowledge and influence, when disorderly forces such as calamities and external threats, or the vicissitudes of life and death are encountered. In general terms, humans strive to organise and control their environment, and thus, beliefs about the meta-physical realm serve to give shape to that which cannot be controlled or conceptualised. If the function of such beliefs is considered to provide meaning, they can be seen to form active constituents that seek to extend the realm of the cosmos and delimit the confrontations with chaos.⁵⁶ Stolz argues that beliefs in transcendental forces, which he refers to as “religion”, contain the quality of being able to produce knowledge due to the inherent process of classification. Through the systematic observation and cataloguing of reality, entities and phenomena are grouped into categories, which create a domain for interpretation and speculation. The science of omens, for instance is based on the systematic observation of the heavens.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Stolz, *Grundzüge der Religionswissenschaft*, 33, 59.

⁵⁷ Ibid.: 128-130.

When approached from this angle, the notions associated with the function of “religion” become directly relevant to the conception of Heian-period beliefs. The meta-physical realm comprised a variety of categories with the most notable feature being a clear division between *mono* 物 and *kami* 神, as will be examined in detail in Chapter 2. The articulation of such categories displays an active tendency towards classification as an ordering principle of the period’s cosmology. Through the systematic observation of the world, anomalous phenomena could be identified and subsequently associated with the corresponding meta-physical category, which served to provide an explanation. This process can be exemplified through the expected duties of the departments of the Jingikan and Onmyōryō, for instance, whose divinations were based on specific methods and the knowledge they had accumulated about the workings of the cosmos. Divination represents the main mode of establishing links between phenomena and meta-physical beliefs.

Various scholars have come to the conclusion that the beliefs and practices commonly associated with “religion” have an impact on society in any given cultural context, since they embody the potential not only to describe but also to shape the social order.⁵⁸ Social control is exercised and reinforced through the application of certain types of belief to specified situations, as well as the performance of rituals, divination and worship.⁵⁹ While the beliefs and their association with certain situations were produced by the interpretative paradigm, it was the ritual practices and the acting out of these ideas that reinforced this particular classification. The impact of beliefs and ritual strategies on social

⁵⁸ Hock, Klaus. *Einführung in die Religionswissenschaft*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2002, 84.

⁵⁹ Geertz, “Religion as a Cultural System”, 119, 125. He emphasises the necessity of particularising the roles of the practitioners who are each products of their own specific circumstances and their subjective experience of events. However, since we are not focussing on the effects of “religion” on the individual but rather on the overall structuring of the cosmology, such psychological issues need not concern us here. See 122.

relations is of particular interest for this thesis, as one of its central claims relates to the idea of regulating what is deemed to be authoritative information through the meta-physical realm. I will demonstrate in Chapter 3 that the meta-physical realm was invoked in order to supply and support claims of authority and legitimacy.

Returning to the issue of the function of “religion” and similar notions within a society, Luhmann makes an important point regarding the socio-political context. In his attempt to determine the concept systematically and theoretically, he asks whether “religion” constitutes a functionally differentiated part of the subdivisions of a society.⁶⁰ The short answer to this is no, if we replace the term “religion” with our understanding of the Heian-period meta-physical sphere. As explained above, beliefs in transcendental realms, forces and beings were interwoven with methodical approaches of observing and recording events in the external world as an organic and comprehensive whole. Based on this intersection the composition of the cosmos as well as its boundaries could be determined. I will argue that it is this aspect that constitutes the precondition for the episteme. However, there were functionally differentiated practices and roles that were considered to present separate endeavours relating to an individual’s pursuit of a spiritual path and the dissemination of teachings.

This tendency is perhaps most apparent in the role of Buddhism in the Heian state and its view of the afterlife. Ritual specialists often provided ceremonies that would ensure beneficial conditions for the nobility both in this world and beyond. A further manifestation of isolated domains that were functionally differentiated may be found in the existence of ritual institutions whose primary concern it was to engage with the meta-physical realm. We thus encounter functionally isolated areas that meet these criteria, but they did not

⁶⁰ Stolz, *Grundzüge der Religionswissenschaft*, 32-33.

constitute an overarching domain that solely existed for that purpose. Such areas also involved methods of healing, i.e. knowledge of the human body, ritual practices, modes of communication with the meta-physical realm, the observation of nature and the heavens, etc. There are no demarcations of a separate domain that was defined and identified as such by the society itself.

Since various aspects often associated with the concept of “religion” do appear to be useful when examining Heian Japan, I would like to discuss briefly the usefulness of a functional approach to this period’s belief system. Such an approach has the advantage of being able to avoid discussions concerning the problem of justification and non-verifiable beliefs, as well as the associated notion of rationalism.⁶¹ It does not make sense to assume such criteria if we accept the fact that the belief-knowledge system constituted a logical and coherent entity in itself and that it was based on its own modes of interpretation and reasoning brought about by the episteme. Furthermore, the examination of beliefs in the meta-physical realm is thus not limited to anything that evokes the notion of “religion” but can encompass beliefs with transcendental overtones in a more general way.

The beginnings of functionalism within Religious Studies can be traced back to a small group of early theorists whom we have already encountered, namely Tylor, Frazer, and Malinowski. As anthropologists they were mainly concerned with the appearance of “religion” as a manifestation of an archetypal form in “primitive cultures”. Their work was thus strongly influenced by the notion of evolution and they conceived of the categories of “religion”, “magic”, and

⁶¹ There are different fields of enquiry that are devoted to these issues, namely the epistemology of religion as well as the application of epistemology to Religious Studies. The former focusses mostly on evidentialism and the evaluation of religious beliefs as justified. In contrast, scholars of Religious Studies seem to be less interested in validating truth claims than relating epistemology to the foundations of the field and establishing it as a domain of scientific enquiry. It is employed as a means to characterise objects that are relevant to the study of religion by seeing them as human behaviours, ideas and institutions. See Forrest, “Epistemology and Religion”, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/religion-epistemology/> Accessed: 2019/05/13; and Jensen, “Epistemology”, 40-41.

“science” as developmental stages along the philosophical progression of societies. Tylor introduced the term “animism” as a concept that “primitive peoples” ostensibly used to explain natural phenomena, while Frazer attempted to define “magic” as a means to influence natural phenomena as a misconception of science. Malinowski, in contrast, focussed on the coexistence of all three categories and deliberated on their significance as a function of societal conditions. Even though these theories are now outdated, they have had a long-lasting effect on the evaluation of cultural patterns and traditions in other societies.⁶²

Noteworthy in this tradition are also Smith, with his notions of the origin of sacrificial rites as predecessors of a legal order, and Evans-Pritchard, who was interested in oracles, magic and witchcraft. What is interesting here is that Smith singled out the element of divine wrath, which also was a prominent cause for concern in the Heian period, and framed it as an expression of human inadequacy when it came to the preservation of a stable order. Sacrificial offerings became a means to placate the divinity and thus restore order, which foreshadows discussions that will appear later in this thesis relating to the expression of sociological relations in meta-physical terms.⁶³ The advantage of using magical explanations, as Evans-Pritchard observed, is that they are unchallengeable, in principle, but can still endeavour to resolve all instances of failure. Thereby, they could secure the prognosticated outcome, which can present an important technique of maintaining power relations.⁶⁴

⁶² Cancik, Gladigow and Laubscher, *Handbuch Religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe*, 32, 51-56, 67, 91, 134, 187.

⁶³ Kippenberg, *Die Entdeckung der Religionsgeschichte*, 113, 118.

⁶⁴ Cancik, Gladigow, and Laubscher, *Handbuch Religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe*, 78. Functionalist approaches were also used in the sociology of religion, as exemplified by Max Weber and Émile Durkheim, who dealt with the question of the role of religion in contemporary societies. They conceptualised religion as a part of the social existence of humans, which represented a particular form of social action. Ibid.: 64.

The functionalist approach has been criticised on many accounts mainly because of its teleological nature and the fact that it tends to produce errors in the deduction of an argument. While such an approach has the advantage of being able to cover an array of material academically, it simultaneously runs the risk of construing a function that does not necessarily need to be met by a certain factor since there are always functionally equivalent possibilities that can account for, in our case, certain categories of belief.⁶⁵ Others criticise the fact that the approach favours a direct application of “religious” function to socio-structural processes without first examining the specific context they appear in. Such functions must be seen as the products of social order, but also as factors that exert an influence on this order.⁶⁶ The critique of functionalism has been influenced to a great extent by Carl Hempel and the various reactions his views have prompted from different scholarly fields, even though his arguments were restricted to biology and social science.⁶⁷ According to Hempel, functional explanations that seek to identify the purpose of the subject of enquiry represent just another form of causal explanations, which continuously look for its origin. The problem is that function, like cause, is so abstract that it is nonempirical and can only be inferred rather than proven. If the reasoning of functionalism is pursued, then not only does everything serve a function, but it also implies that the subjects of enquiry to be examined through the lens of functionalism are indispensable to whatever they affect. This, in turn, leads to a very narrow and stagnant view of such functions.⁶⁸

This criterion of necessity leads to further problems by assuming simplistic and generalised functions and positing them as the only causes which

⁶⁵ Pollack, “Was ist Religion?”, 178-181.

⁶⁶ Hock, *Einführung in die Religionswissenschaft*, 84.

⁶⁷ See, for instance, Burhenn, Herbert. “Functionalism and the Explanation of Religion”. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 19/4 (1980): 350-360; McCauley, Robert N. and Lawson, Thomas E. “Functionalism Reconsidered”. *History of Religions* 23/4 (1984): 372-381; and Segal, Robert A. “Functionalism since Hempel”. *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 22 (2010): 340-353.

⁶⁸ Segal, “Functionalism since Hempel”, 342-343.

affirm the consequences of one's previous assumptions, thus rendering the argument fallacious.⁶⁹

"What explanatory import may properly be claimed for functional analysis? Suppose, then, that we are interested in explaining the occurrence of trait *i* in a system *s* (at a certain time *t*), and that the following functional analysis is offered:

- (a) At *t*, *s* functions adequately in a setting of kind *c* (characterised by specific internal and external conditions)
- (b) *s* functions adequately in a setting of the kind *c* only if a certain necessary condition, *n*, is satisfied
- (c) If trait *i* were present in *s* then, as an effect, condition *n* would be satisfied
- (d) (Hence), at *t*, trait *i* is present in *s*.⁷⁰

As Burhenn notes, since one can only claim that trait *i* is a sufficient condition to satisfy the requirements of *n*, then one is automatically at risk of affirming the consequent.⁷¹ This constitutes an invalid inference as it favours one aspect as an absolute factor over functionally equivalent alternatives while other configurations might also be capable of producing the same results. Functionalism is thus at risk of degenerating into an empty tautology that asserts only the most general claims by assumption.⁷² While there are many other facets of the critique of functionalism, I would like to introduce one last point that is of

⁶⁹ Ibid.: 344-345.

⁷⁰ Hempel, Carl G. "The Logic of Functional Analysis". *Scientific Explanation: Essays in the Philosophy of Science*, edited by Carl G. Hempel. New York: The Free Press and London: Collier-MacMillan, 1965, 297-330. See 309-310.

⁷¹ Burhenn, "Functionalism and the Explanation of Religion", 351-352. "But in order to claim that *i* is also a necessary condition for *n*, one would have to be able to show that no trait other than *i* could produce *n*". Ibid.: 352. In simpler terms, a valid deductive argument could take the following form: "PREMISE: If religion, then stability. PREMISE: Religion. CONCLUSION: Therefore stability." However, this also works in reverse: "PREMISE: If religion, then stability. PREMISE: Stability. CONCLUSION: Therefore religion." It is invalid because "the cause is deduced from the effect and not vice versa." See Segal, "Functionalism Since Hempel", 343.

⁷² McCauley and Lawson, "Functionalism Reconsidered", 373-374.

relevance to this particular study, which relates to notions of intention and awareness. Burhenn notes that it is essential to distinguish between what people in a given society think the function is, which indicates the intended or manifest function, and what the real, perceivable function is, which is unintended and thus latent. Even then, the features that are manifested need not necessarily represent reality or the only possible expression of a function.⁷³

It is evident that any functional analysis needs to be defined meticulously for a specific case study. Furthermore, a balance must be found between the incorporation of the context and a level of abstraction that enables an evaluation of the individual components.⁷⁴ The different ideas and contradictory views that the functionalist approach encompasses again seem to confuse different levels when trying to apply it to the function of religion on the one hand, and to the identification of various functional subsystems on the other. While with this project I aim to gain a deeper understanding of the function of meta-physical beliefs especially in relation to cosmology and the production of knowledge, I should clarify that this should not be envisaged in absolute terms. Meta-physical beliefs had many functions on a number of levels depending on their specific category, the circumstances in which they appeared, the people that were involved, as well as those functions that had an impact on the social order and can only be observed from an outside perspective. It is thus our task here to uncover these manifest and latent functions without denying other functionally equivalent possibilities. By rejecting absolute categories, the problem of necessity can also be avoided, which would portray the prominence of meta-physical beliefs as a necessary precondition for the production of knowledge. This would exclude many other forms through which knowledge was generated and can thus only lead to a faulty understanding of pre-modern Japan.

⁷³ Burhenn, "Functionalism and the Explanation of Religion", 354-355.

⁷⁴ McCauley and Lawson, "Functionalism Reconsidered", 379-380 and Burhenn, "Functionalism and the Explanation of Religion", 354.

If this approach is to be applied successfully, we must focus our attention on the interrelations between various meta-physical phenomena and examine their functions within the social and cultural contexts. Only then can we recognise certain patterns and determine overarching features that attest to specific functions of meta-physical beliefs as a component of Heian-period cosmology and knowledge. It is in this sense that functionalism informs the purview of this thesis. Hence, functional explanations will be used to gain a better understanding of the role of beliefs in the meta-physical realm in relation to the conception of the cosmos and the comprehension of the external world.

3. Determining the parameters for regulated interaction between realms

If the focus lies primarily on the function of these beliefs in Heian Japan as a way of structuring the cosmos and maintaining order, then we must also determine and conceptualise their application: the way in which they were put into practice and the available modes of interpretation. This structure offers useful guidelines for the theoretical approach and helps to conceptualise the sphere of beliefs by using categories that were recognised as such by the populace at the time. This threefold structure is represented by the constituents of belief, ritual, and divination. More specifically, when an abnormal or inexplicable event occurred, it was suspected that they presented signs from the meta-physical realm. Such signs were thought to contain information that had to be decoded through divination or a specific variety of ritual exorcism called *kaji*. Thus, a belief associated with one of the keywords was assigned to them as a means to classify the experienced events. The appropriate countermeasures could then be undertaken, which involved the performance of specific rituals.

Since the belief system as a whole was drawn upon as a repertoire in order to evaluate the signs appearing in nature or in relation to the human body, it can

be inferred that there were parameters according to which the application of beliefs took place.⁷⁵ They provided inexplicable events with a name and thus an explanation based upon which they could be brought into the realm of that which could be described. Divination can be seen as a method of consulting the meta-physical realm for guidance, as the results would determine the entity that was thought to be the cause, along with its associated category, and thus ascribe meaning to the event. They were able to provide both a diagnosis after something had happened and a prognostication, when anomalous phenomena had been observed that foreshadowed unfortunate events to come. This latter mode of divination was based on the systematic observation and documentation of the natural environment and the heavens. This implies that there was a system in place that prescribed a natural order and the phenomena or events that transgressed the boundaries of that order.

Ritual, which should be seen to include sutra recitations and offerings to the deities, offered, in turn, a means to counteract such disruptive meta-physical forces and restore harmony between the realms.⁷⁶ Both of these procedures present us with a multitude of beliefs that were either assigned as a cause or invoked through ritual practices. The situations in which these methods are encountered, demonstrate that all traditions were involved with such events and that it makes no sense to differentiate between them unless we are studying a particular tradition independently. For these reasons, the three categories stipulated by Heian-period thought will serve as the main framework for the analysis as a guiding structure.

Since we have established the existence of parameters that determined when the general conception of order was transgressed, I would now like to discuss the notion of anomalies as an embodiment of such contraventions. In this

⁷⁵ The various categories will be examined in detail in chapter 2.

⁷⁶ The significance of ritual will be examined in detail in chapter 3.

section, I will attempt to reconstruct the foundation of what constituted order in terms of the harmonious coexistence of the two realms by drawing on the predominant modes of interpretation. This forms the basis for what I refer to as the episteme as an underlying syntax. When the keywords were introduced, they were defined as relating to unusual events that lay beyond the scope of that which could be explained. These instances can be referred to as anomalies as they did not conform to the expectations of what could happen realistically.

As will be discussed in the next chapter, the primary sources reveal that the meanings of the keywords and their use as modes of explanation were far more nuanced than is currently recognised. When an event was encountered for which there was no precedent, such as natural calamities and epidemics, there was no protocol regarding appropriate countermeasures, which was a cause for great apprehension. Nevertheless, such events occurred with enough frequency that the application of meta-physical beliefs became somewhat standardised so that the individual categories necessitated the performance of the corresponding countermeasures. These routine procedures and the fact that such situations occurred repeatedly would perhaps lead to the view that such incidents were not anomalies at all, since the system in place had evolved to accommodate them and recurring patterns could be identified. However, in the sources themselves, such events are often referred to as something “unusual” or “mysterious” (*kaii* 怪異). Hence, it is necessary to determine what is meant by the term “anomaly”.

Although Thomas Kuhn refers to anomalies in the context of scientific paradigms and how they lead to paradigm shifts, his deliberations provide an interesting perspective on the issue at hand. His approach is especially pertinent, since the aim of this thesis is to conceptualise the Heian-period modes of interpretation in relation to an underlying paradigm, namely the episteme. He describes anomalies occurring in nature as violations of the expectations induced

by the paradigm.⁷⁷ Based on this reasoning, the appearance of anomalies means that the paradigm theory needs to be adjusted so that the anomalous becomes expected, which occurs as a gradual process. Even though knowledge was not sought with the same ambitions in Heian Japan as in the European context that Kuhn analyses, the application of the keywords to particular situations represents an attempt to integrate unexpected occurrences into the explanatory paradigm. According to him, the human brain functions in such a way that “anomalies are fitted to conceptual categories prepared by prior experience”.⁷⁸ Anomalies could only be explained in familiar terms and their descriptions had to draw on prior experience or recognised traditions in order to provide solutions to a problem. This leads to the slightly paradoxical inference that the paradigm produced a worldview that was not consistent with experienced reality but could nevertheless only be explained in the language of this same paradigm, which is the situation we are presented with in Heian Japan. It is not hard to imagine how this tension would gradually prompt a paradigm shift.

The ordered background against which the anomalies appear is reminiscent of Mary Douglas’s conception of dirt and pollution as eliminating elements that maintain organised relations.⁷⁹ By determining an interpretation for an anomalous event, even with negative or detrimental connotations, its ambiguity was reduced. Through this process such events became describable and thus controllable. As we shall see in the following chapters, they were often tied into a moral discourse that accused humans of wrongful behaviour towards the meta-physical realm, since the appearance of signs often constituted warnings. The occurrence of an illness or calamity, even if the person affected was not perceived to be at fault, prompted a frantic search for an underlying

⁷⁷ Kuhn, Thomas S. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962, 52.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*: 63.

⁷⁹ Douglas, Mary. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London: Routledge, 2003, 2-6. Her theories will be discussed in detail in chapter 3.

reason so that the situation might be rectified. It becomes apparent from the many examples relating to the keywords that the fear of a disruption of the overall cosmological harmony forms a pervasive element in the primary source material. It was these situations of fear and perplexity that required a specific type of explanation and drew on the meta-physical realm. Hence, anomalies will be defined as any incidents that were considered to be so unusual that they predicated the interference of a meta-physical entity because there was no clear cause. They will further encompass any instances of prolonged illness or the repeated occurrence of natural phenomena that did not respond to the usual countermeasures, which usually indicated a more serious cause.

The anomalies as they appear in these kinds of situations represent the boundaries of empirical knowledge, which was supplemented by cosmological knowledge that had been transmitted through cultural traditions. Just like the observation of the heavens combined with beliefs in astral deities or knowledge of the human body was correlated with the Five Phases, *yin* and *yang*, and the notion of *ki*,⁸⁰ the appearance of anomalies as defined above was also related to a specific subset of meta-physical entities. They were paradigm-induced mechanisms that prevented the loss of meaning even when phenomena contravened expectations. This specific and narrow definition of anomalies as applied to the Heian context can help us discover more about the underlying paradigm and the conception of the cosmos.

The preoccupation with signs in people's surroundings that were thought to indicate a state of imbalance is quite significant. It can perhaps be ascribed to the fact that everyday life at the court and among high society was so ritualised, with aesthetics and a prescribed way of doing things being so engrained in the very structure of Heian society, that anything transgressing this order was

⁸⁰ See Chapter 2 for more detail.

immediately noticeable. Such signs represented the things – note the similarity to *mono*⁸¹ – that could not fit into the framework for how matters should be handled and caused chaos within a strictly regulated cosmos. Based on the moral principles that the interpretation of such signs served to uphold, there was a profound concern with their meaning as they pointed to those aspects of social, ritual and political life that were not being attended to properly. Factors that had the potential to cause chaos had to be reintegrated into the cosmos. The keywords under consideration here thus served to draw attention to such impending threats.

According to Douglas, the boundaries and internal lines within the structure of thought that served to categorise events either as normal occurrences or anomalies were maintained by rituals of separation. A specific cosmology can only be understood when the principles of power and danger can be isolated.⁸² As Chapter 2 will demonstrate, the ritual separation between the category of those influences belonging to *mono* and that of the deities is very apparent since only some rituals were efficacious with regard to these types of entities. If these same rituals were performed for the deities, disaster and misfortune would be brought upon the human realm as they were not appropriate. Based on Douglas's observations, the worldview is just as much a projection of the ideas and values of the dominant social institutions that strive to organise society, as it represents the entirety of beliefs held about the world. The way in which humans could take control in relation to such unusual phenomena is related to the prevailing tendencies in the socio-political system and is mirrored in the organisation of the invisible world.⁸³ In the following

⁸¹ *Mono* 物 can be translated as “things”, but, as I will demonstrate in the following chapter, also constituted a category of ambiguous forces and entities that were contrasted with the category of *kami* 神.

⁸² Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 42, 51-52.

⁸³ *Ibid.*: 83-93.

chapters I will attempt to unravel the various strands in order to discover which Heian-period socio-political institutions participated in this discourse, their motivations and methods for promoting certain types of belief, and how these patterns may be related to the underlying episteme.

I would like to argue here that the three aspects, namely belief, divination, and ritual, as well as the anomalies encountered, were engrained in, and shaped by, an underlying paradigm or syntax, which I have been referring to obliquely. If we posit such a structure, we may infer that it served to establish the categories of belief and their manifestations, while ritual, alongside the signs, had an important function regarding the communication processes between the realms. Furthermore, ritual can be said to give the beliefs a practical dimension while being able to maintain order through the re-enactment of ideal situations. By drawing on established ideals of harmony, ritual evoked and expressed the potentialities that such an ideal order held as a backdrop for the appearance of anomalies. Divination, in turn, provided the means to recognise anomalies and determine their causes and potential repercussions. An intricate web of connections can be deduced through the underlying structure, in which each of these aspects played a central part. I would now like to discuss how we may conceptualise such a structure by characterising it as an episteme.

4. Conceptualising the episteme

In order to delineate this structure that I refer to as an episteme, it is first of all necessary to sum up the traditional meanings of the concept as well as the other definitions and theories available. From there I would like to determine the aspects that are suited to describing the situation we encounter in Heian Japan and justify my reasons for applying a very particular theoretical model to the notions gleaned from the examination of the primary sources. Once I have defined

the episteme itself has, I will include aspects that have emerged from my research that will need to form components of the structure itself. This method thus constitutes an inductive approach.

4.1 Prior scholarship and theoretical applications

The most common understanding of the term “episteme” has been heavily influenced by Foucault. It can be summarised as the entirety of knowledge or a body of ideas that shapes a society’s perception of the world and is instrumental in defining reality. The *Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms* specifies it as “the accepted mode of acquiring and arranging knowledge in a given period. An episteme unites the various discourses and guarantees their coherence within an underlying structure of implicit assumptions about the status of knowledge.”⁸⁴ The notions of unity and coherence are of particular importance here since they point to the active and integrative components of my understanding of the set of rules, or a syntax, that constitutes the “episteme”. It is this underlying structure that may be understood to generate acceptable forms of knowledge and definitions thereof.

Epistēmē has its origins in ancient Greek philosophy and is closely associated with *technē* (craft or art), which can, in some respects, be compared to the division between theory and practice, or theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge. With Plato and Aristotle, who attempted to define what knowledge is, the term acquired a more theoretical dimension that led to the incorporation of scientific implications. For Aristotle, “scientific knowledge concerns itself with the world of necessary truths (...) and can then grasp what happens for the most

⁸⁴<https://www.oxfordreference.com/abstract/10.1093/acref/9780198715443.001.0001/acref-9780198715443-e-401?rskey=WAPiWA&result=1> Accessed: 2019/05/16.

part, e.g., the regularities of nature (...).⁸⁵ From there enquiries associated with the term developed into the field now known as epistemology, or the study of knowledge. This field is concerned with defining what knowledge is and classifying the different types of knowledge and the modes of acquisition. However, such enquiries quickly encounter the problem of justification and whether a form of knowledge can be verified to be true.⁸⁶ Any such approach to the Heian period can only hinder a complete understanding of the worldview, which is why epistemology itself will be disregarded in this thesis, since all meta-physical expressions would be discarded as false and non-verifiable.

For this reason, we must break away from a strict understanding of epistemology and instead focus on its more general associations with the creation and dissemination of knowledge. I have already put forward the idea that an interpretative paradigm should be inserted as a distinct feature. Foucault's approach to the episteme as a system of rules that generate the possibilities of knowledge can help to determine theoretically why some modes of interpretation were favoured over others in the Heian period and how they thus gave rise to a specific worldview. Foucault was primarily concerned with the conditions that give rise to a corpus of knowledge and the establishment of sciences.⁸⁷ He surmises that "in any given culture and at any given moment, there is always only one episteme that defines the conditions of possibility of all knowledge, whether expressed in a theory or silently invested in a practice".⁸⁸ According to him, it can be conceived of as a total set of relations that unite the various forms through

⁸⁵ Parry, "Episteme and Techne", *Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/episteme-techne/> Accessed: 2019/05/16.

⁸⁶ Jensen, Jeppe Sinding. "Epistemology". *The Routledge Handbook of Research Methods in the Study of Religion*, edited by Michael Stausberg and Steven Engler. Oxon: Routledge, 2011, 40-53, see 41; and Steup, "Epistemology", <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/epistemology/> Accessed: 2019/05/16.

⁸⁷ Foucault, Michel. *Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. New York: Pantheon, 1972, 190, and *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. London: Routledge, 2005, xxiii.

⁸⁸ Foucault, *The Order of Things*, 183.

which hegemonic norms and relationships are created and expressed.⁸⁹ It is thus inherently grounded in the socio-political framework. In *The Order of Things*, he examines the episteme of sixteenth century Europe and notes that any pre-modern episteme must account for other forms of knowing that respond to the circumstances of the time. Such an episteme must treat practices that evoke the concepts of magic or divination as part of the main body of knowledge.⁹⁰ It is here that the most useful parallels can be drawn to the Heian-period organisation of knowledge.

His understanding of the episteme is interwoven with his method of an “archaeology”, which presupposes a set of general rules operating on an unconscious level that delimit and define the possibilities of thought within a system of knowledge. This model enabled him to view and isolate a set of related utterances, which he labelled a “discursive formation”, as an entity that occupies its own space in a given time, instead of following its progress in a linear sequence. By formulating the different expressions of the underlying set of rules in terms of positivities, he rejects categorical distinctions between true and false, or scientific and non-scientific so that logical debates can be avoided.⁹¹ When examining the Heian-period sphere of beliefs, we must thus also be careful to formulate the modes of interpretation as possibilities of knowledge in order to avoid any logical contradictions, which I have tried to encapsulate in the notion of a belief-knowledge system.

The concept of an episteme has been used in the context of pre-modern Japan, albeit in a very vague and limited sense. LaFleur makes use of the concept, which is loosely based on Foucault’s theory, without ever really defining what he means by the term. In the context of an intellectual spectrum within which certain symbols and conceptions had their places and roles, he refers to the “medieval

⁸⁹ Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 495, and Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 191.

⁹⁰ Foucault, *The Order of Things*, 35-37.

⁹¹ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 188-195.

episteme” or the “Buddhist episteme” as a paradigm that represents the basic worldview.⁹² Bogel, in turn, talks about the Heian-period episteme and other subdivisions of an overarching system in relation to cosmology, such as the “Buddhist episteme” or the “*kami* episteme”.⁹³ Based on New Historicism, she takes it to denote diverse perspectives that “define the collective cultural consciousness of a given historical moment.”⁹⁴ The real challenge lies in the question of whether the episteme constitutes one main underlying structural component or whether there are several different epistemes at work in a society as suggested by these scholars. For the purpose of this thesis, I use the term to refer to the former sense and I will now specify how such a model can be fruitfully applied to the analysis of the Heian-period sphere of beliefs and the articulation of power relations.

4.2 Towards a modified conception of “episteme”

Without focussing on the development of science, as Foucault does, it is the notion of the episteme as “the totality of relations that can be discovered for a given period” that forms the guiding principle for my re-evaluation of the concept. This set of relations unites all outward expressions of how reality is perceived and gives rise to a formalised system with specific operational rules that also structures how groups and agents can interact.⁹⁵ Foucault cautions that his model is not to be confused with the notion of a worldview, which he defines as “a slice of history common to all branches of knowledge, which imposes on each one the same norms and postulates, a general stage of reason, a certain structure

⁹² LaFleur, *The Karma of Words*, 25, 30, 58.

⁹³ For instance: “A definition of early Heian cosmology is difficult to situate beyond the episteme of the Heian court.” Bogel, Cynthia J. *With a Single Glance: Buddhist Icon and Early Mikkyō Vision*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009, 116.

⁹⁴ Ibid.: 324 (footnote).

⁹⁵ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 191.

of thought that the men of a particular period cannot escape – a great body of legislation written once and for all by some anonymous hand.”⁹⁶ By envisaging a set of rules of formation, Foucault tries to conceptualise the episteme as a flexible system that opens up an inexhaustible field of relations and constitutes a “constantly moving set of articulations, shifts, and coincidences that are established, only to give rise to others.”⁹⁷ I have already noted when discussing the applicability of the term “religion” that the episteme as an interpretative paradigm must be differentiated from a normative worldview, as Seiwert defines it. The latter should rather be seen as something that emerges from the episteme.

However, it is a combination of aspects that Foucault associated with the term worldview and his conception of the episteme that I believe to represent the most fundamental basis of human thought. In my opinion, the episteme does constitute a structure of thought that people of a particular period cannot escape, but it should not be seen as a static depiction of a period.⁹⁸ I conceive of it rather as an ontological state in flux that is shared, in our case, by those who were participating in the articulation of power relations. A certain degree of flexibility, dynamism, and ambiguity is needed in order to account for paradigm shifts that necessarily occur over time. Furthermore, since any given society is stratified and consists of different groups, the exact configuration of the episteme will differ for each of these groups just as different ways of life are pursued. The more a given society is stratified the larger these variations will appear. Nevertheless, just as any country acknowledges a certain set of cultural values and traditions, as well as a unifying identity common to all of its citizens, we may infer that the episteme can be reduced to one fundamental set of principles that is shared by all of the

⁹⁶ Ibid.: 191.

⁹⁷ Ibid.: 191-192. Davidson, Arnold I. “Archaeology, Genealogy, Ethics”. *Foucault: A Critical Reader*, edited by David Couzens Hoy. Oxford: Blackwell, 1986, 221-234. See 222.

⁹⁸ As Quine notes, “one’s ontology is basic to the conceptual scheme by which [one] interprets all experiences, even the most commonplace ones,” Quine, Willard van Orman. *From a Logical Point of View*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980, 10.

groups belonging to one cultural sphere with a unique historical tradition. This is perhaps even more pronounced in the case of pre-modern Japan due its geographical confinements as an island. In our case, we are limited to the representation of the episteme shared by the Heian nobility due to the scarcity of sources relating to other social groups. It is apparent from my reasoning that rather than understanding the episteme as an underlying entity that unites a certain discourse, I view it as an instance that has an impact on the way in which people think and thus unifies a certain group.

Any framework that we wish to apply to the Heian period must be able to encompass the wide variety of beliefs and practices without imposing categories upon them. It should rather evaluate them on one level based on their functions and applications to particular circumstances just as they appear and not through the lens of modern perceptions of what should be. Again, Foucault's approach is helpful here, since the episteme also serves to constrain the way in which events are approached and interpreted:

"... this limitation is not the negative limitation that opposes knowledge (*connaissance*) to ignorance, reasoning to imagination, armed experience to fidelity to appearances, and fantasy to inferences and deductions; the episteme is not what may be known at a given period, due account taken of inadequate techniques, mental attitudes or the limitations imposed by tradition; it is what, in the positivity of discursive practices, makes possible the existence of epistemological figures and sciences."⁹⁹

The notion of epistemological figures is especially pertinent in the context of pre-modern societies, since it can be taken to incorporate all forms of the production of knowledge and all manners of perceiving and interpreting reality as it appears to a specified group of people at any given time. These outward expressions of

⁹⁹ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 192.

the episteme were, in turn, shaped by the historical and socio-political contexts and determined what constituted authoritative information about the world.

One may argue that any perception of reality is inherently subjective and cannot be meaningfully generalised to incorporate all possible interpretations of the world. I would like to suggest, however, that despite the countless possibilities of individual perception, such disparities do not affect the underlying structure that is common to all. There will be certain parameters that all members of a group have in common – perhaps unconsciously – that lets them agree on the significant aspects and features that constitute their worldview as a product of the episteme. When new modes of interpretation emerge, or other fields of knowledge develop, some members of a group may not be able to sanction these underlying parameters anymore. The larger this group becomes, the more likely it is that a paradigm shift will occur. Thus, I wish to preclude any notion that the episteme represents a static and rigid framework. The episteme should be seen as an instance that generates unconscious interpretative patterns that cannot easily be escaped unless the participants have become aware of them.

This approach runs the risk of reductionism and I realise that such an episteme cannot ever be reconstructed in its entirety, nor is that the objective of this particular approach. However, I believe that a schematic representation can be a useful heuristic tool in order to identify certain overarching tendencies. These could establish relations between articulations concerning the order of the cosmos to socio-political developments. As it stands, the conception of the episteme in this thesis could be extended infinitely to include every single instance of impact external factors had on the basic framework that generated the identifiable modes of thought and practice. This thesis can necessarily only address a very small portion of it. In fact, a representation of our own episteme would constitute a nearly impossible task, since we are intrinsically a product of it. Another issue relates to the fact that the question whether a causal power

needs to be posited, which favoured the inclusion of some structures in the episteme over others that were excluded. This is perhaps the mechanism that accounts for the discrepancies between different cultures and the quality that lends them their uniqueness. This may be avoided by considering the episteme to contain an infinite amount of probabilities and possibilities, even though they are not all expressed in reality. Some are perhaps more likely than others based on the unique history and development of a specific region or group. My initial understanding of the episteme was inspired by Foucault, but it should have become clear that I have departed from his original conception of the term and developed it in order to establish a non-discriminatory approach to the Heian-period sphere of beliefs.

As explained in the context of anomalies and Douglas's theories, the presence of phenomena that were categorised as being unusual implies a system of order that helped to structure the universe. Without the concept of order anomalies cannot exist, since there would be nothing that they could contravene. This system of order is what I understand to be a product of the episteme. Similarly, when inexplicable events were encountered, such circumstances could only be conceived of in familiar terms that formed part of the episteme. This means that an active component of the episteme seeks to account for all manner of phenomena based on the tension among groups regarding certain perceptions and their numbers, since a paradigm-shift is unavoidable otherwise. I have mentioned that belief, ritual and divination should be seen as being engrained in, and shaped by, the episteme. Douglas notes that anything that is considered to be out of place and thus is often related to notions of dirt and pollution, only makes sense in connection with "a total structure of thought whose boundaries, margins, and internal lines are held in relation by rituals of separation".¹⁰⁰ Based on the

¹⁰⁰ Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 42.

active aspect of ritual as converting beliefs about this realm and others into facts within the domain of practice, it can be said that ritual reinforces the episteme on an ontological level. In our case we are especially concerned with meta-physical notions and beliefs in transcendent entities that played a major role in explanatory processes. We may thus infer that this feature was engrained in the episteme and produced the pertinent modes of interpretation.

4.3 Configuring the episteme

If we view the episteme as a construct that defines the way in which the world was perceived and experiences were interpreted, then we must assume that there are interpretative structures and tendencies that can be deduced from empirical data. It could be pictured as a matrix of flexible parameters and possibilities of which some modes are realised more predominantly than others and thus generate the associations and categorisations encountered in the sources. It is perhaps best conceptualised in terms of a syntax, which I understand in this case to constitute a deep structure that influences surface-level appearances, namely those that emerge when we examine the pre-modern sources. This approach presents a very abstract and hypothetical construct that cannot be proven to exist, but I hope that as a theoretical framework it may provide a useful perspective to uncover other facets of Heian cosmology that have been overlooked based on more conservative approaches.

“Syntax” is most commonly applied to language and denotes a set of rules, principles, and processes according to which sentences are structured, or the study of these principles and processes. Although this is a concept that has been developed in the field of linguistics, I believe that if it is abstracted from its original realm of application it can be applied usefully to the conception of the Heian episteme. One of the defining features of syntax is its autonomy in

generating sentence structures, which could imbue our episteme with a causative aspect. Since the notion of syntax represents the fundamental rules that serve to specify the “minimal syntactically functioning units”,¹⁰¹ i.e. those elementary units of thought that cannot be reduced any further, it becomes a device for producing sentences, and, in our case, for producing the acceptable modes of thought and determining authoritative information. The basic interpretative structures as I discuss them below could be seen to constitute these fundamental units. If we understand the notion of syntax in this way, then the episteme itself should also be understood as a device, which encompasses a set of rules and governs the modes of thought. Despite the fact that the rules represent mind-made or abstract concepts, these syntactical rules govern the manipulation of such abstract notions, which thus become significant and intelligible and produce the adopted ontology.¹⁰²

Payne has applied the term syntax to ritual in his examination of meditation and the *homa* (*goma* 護摩) ritual based on the precedent set by Frits Staal. He argues that the term can be applied to other theoretical constructs, in his case ritual, since the criteria differ significantly. Rather than seeing linguistic syntax as the overarching category, Payne based on Staal puts forward the idea that syntax emerges from activity and then develops into language: “If we abstract syntax out of a limited conception of it as a subset of language, we find the same two levels of syntactic analysis apply to ritual as well: the sequencing of ritual acts and the hierarchical grouping of ritual acts.”¹⁰³ The way in which I conceive of the episteme is very similar to these characteristics of syntax and its

¹⁰¹ Chomsky, Noam. *Aspects of a Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1965, 1; See also, Chomsky, Noam. *Syntactic Structures*. The Hague: Mouton, 1957, 11.

¹⁰² Quine develops these ideas on the basis of abstract notations in classical mathematics, *From a Logical Point of View*, 15.

¹⁰³ Payne, Richard K. “Buddhist Ritual from Syntax to Cognition: Insight Meditation and Homa”. *Religions* 7/8 (2016). <https://www.mdpi.com/2077-1444/7/8/104/htm> Accessed: 2019/06/24.

depiction as a mechanism that sequences and hierarchically groups the fundamental units, whether these be linguistic units, ritual acts, or modes of thought. The main point I would like to make is that syntax need not be limited to the study of language. Based on the Greek origins of the word *súntaxis* (σύνταξις), it is rather the aspect of structural arrangement or organisation that I would like to highlight here, which can account for the principles it generates and orders.

The problem is that many studies focus on the causes of phenomena, beliefs, cultural expressions, etc., which, in turn, have their own causes and so on, leading to an infinite regression. The same can be said for modes of interpretation, association and the reactions to events, which similarly derive from a former cause that led to the expression and realisation of one mode over another. By inserting the level of an episteme, we may shift our perspective slightly, away from the allocation of traditions and origins, as it cannot be reduced any further and instead allows for the interaction of various beliefs about the world on one level. The episteme, in my understanding, comprises the entirety of knowledge and produces the acceptable modes of interpretation as a fundamental unit of human thought, while it can be modified and changed based on external influx. It can nevertheless aid the analysis of traditions and their causes, as it provides an underlying structure that accounts for the developments of certain articulations and expressions. The main issue arises when considering the episteme itself, namely how such a structure arose in the first place and whether a causal power governing it is implied. We need to differentiate between the notions of whether it constitutes an *ontos* as a pre-existent and continuous feature of human thought¹⁰⁴ or whether it is merely an abstract heuristic tool that can be used by scholars to examine a pre-modern society, for instance. It may be safer for now to assume the latter for the purposes of our analysis, although I do not wish to

¹⁰⁴ We then encounter the issue of where it should be located: in the human mind, collectively, just as culture exists for a social group, or even cross-culturally?

discredit the former inferences entirely – it is simply impossible to validate such a claim.

Some scholars have made use of such underlying structures in the field of Religious Studies based on a linguistic approach in order to describe the relations between cultural and social systems. Lévi-Strauss, for example, focussed on an unconscious infrastructure that governs production, from which general and universal rules can be formulated.¹⁰⁵ This is quite similar to the way in which I conceive of the episteme, but the contexts to which these infrastructures are applied differ significantly. While Lévi-Strauss uses this model to analyse cultural systems, I am more interested in the interpretative patterns that shaped the worldview and had an impact on cosmology. Furthermore, instead of attempting to formulate general rules about a culture, I believe that it makes more sense to use the empirical data in order to identify the tendencies that may be said to represent components of the episteme, which, in turn, become manifest in culture.

For the most part, the episteme does seem to constitute an unconscious structure, but it is also possible that people could be aware of the predominant patterns of interpretation, based on the fact that there were strategies in place for encountering inexplicable phenomena. In that sense, the episteme could be manipulated to a certain extent, as we shall see in chapter 3, as long as the participants operated within the boundaries stipulated by the episteme when they were attempting to further their own socio-political objectives. Due to the fact that such manipulations were possible, the advantage of this approach is immediately obvious, since the analysis of various expressions of belief and cosmology can be performed on one level while respecting the historical context and the predominant socio-political relations.

¹⁰⁵ Bell, Catherine. *Ritual Perspectives and Dimensions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, 63.

We can uncover more about the episteme itself by examining the modes of thought that contributed to its basic structure (input) and the expressions and explanations that emerged from it (output) in the Heian period. Such a method automatically accounts for the strong continental influence as well as the selective adoption and adaptation of elements. As such, the episteme retains its flexibility, since it continuously expands and develops as more information is incorporated into the structure. Depending on the input, certain modes are more likely to be activated and put into practice than others. This can account for cultural differences as well as regional similarities, since the countries of the Yellow Sea interaction sphere¹⁰⁶ were exposed to comparable cultural influences and traditions and had an impact on each other. China, especially, presented a driving force by projecting concepts of certain standards and ideals outward to the countries within its sphere of influence.

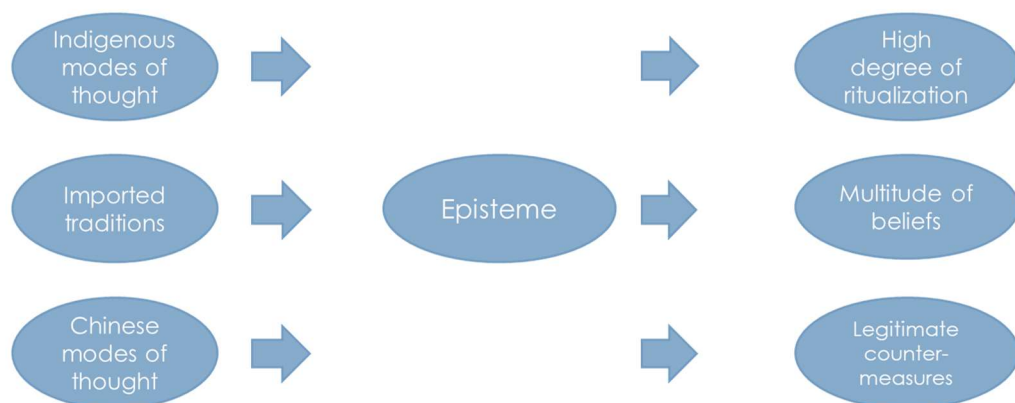
In my understanding, the episteme encompasses both the sum of knowledge and an underlying matrix of possibilities and probabilities that produces the predominant modes of interpretation and perception. However, rather than relating it to a particular type of discourse, I believe that it can only be conceived of in relation to a group of people who share the episteme and participate in its actualisation through ritual and the construction of a period-specific cosmology. These people are both products of the episteme whilst they retain enough flexibility to become aware of some its modes of thought and interpretative patterns, and to have a formative influence upon it. Since I have introduced some notions that derive from the field of linguistics, a parallel can be drawn to the distinction that is made between *competence* and *performance*.¹⁰⁷ The former refers to an individual's knowledge of the language – in our case the unconscious internalisation of the rules embodied by the episteme – while the

¹⁰⁶ See Barnes, Gina L. *Archaeology of East Asia: The Rise of Civilization in China, Korea, and Japan*. Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2015, 309-330.

¹⁰⁷ Chomsky, *Aspects of a Theory of Syntax*, 2-8.

latter is described as the use of language in concrete situations – the way in which an individual perceives and makes sense of the world. It is perhaps easiest to view it as a construct that can help us understand objectively the structures we encounter in pre-modern societies. It is necessary to differentiate clearly between input, meaning everything that had an impact on, and was incorporated into, the episteme, and output, which refers to the surface-level appearances that can be examined empirically based on the primary sources, for this approach.

While the episteme itself is defined as a construct, some characteristic interpretative tendencies can be deduced from what we know about its input and output due to which there can be some areas of overlap between these three stages. The aim to arrive at an understanding of these characteristic tendencies represents the guiding principle throughout this thesis. As I will now discuss the three stages of the process of assigning meaning to inexplicable events, I should clarify that the notions summed up under each point have resulted from the analysis of the primary sources. The summary presented here as a means to envisage the episteme, should be taken as guidelines for the examinations pursued in this thesis. I will introduce the predominant modes of thought in detail throughout the chapters.



4.3.1 Input

It is, of course, impossible to represent the totality of everything that had an impact on pre-modern Japanese thought. However, based on our historical knowledge, we can make some reasonable conjectures about certain factors that would have had an impact on the episteme. First of all, these would include all indigenous modes of thought that are most apparent in ritual practices, such as those focussing on local cults and deities, clan deities, ancestor worship, as well as imperial tombs. From these forms of worship there emerged oral traditions and myths that would later become standardised and officialised in provincial gazetteers (*fudoki* 風土記) and the first chronicles, the *Kojiki* 古事記 and the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀.¹⁰⁸ They constitute expressions of early cosmology that describe the causal relations between the cosmos and the place of humans within it and contribute a variety of meta-physical beliefs associated with natural phenomena to the episteme.

Yamauchi describes in detail how the people of ancient Japan used words such as *mono* 物 to describe experiences that had no clear form but whose effects could be felt. The term was associated with transcendent entities that could encompass the multitudes of wild and harmful deities, demons and other abnormal manifestations of chaos. At the time, the author argues, such entities were not as distinct as they were perceived to be in the Heian period, for example. The separation of these categories only took place over time in a gradual process.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, the term *ki* 気 was used for indescribable phenomena in nature, which were felt to have a spiritual quality, such as the flickering heat produced by the sun or a fire, or the temperature difference on the surface of a

¹⁰⁸ See, for instance, Shirane Haruo, *Traditional Japanese Literature: An Anthology, Beginnings to 1600*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007, 21-55 for more information.

¹⁰⁹ Yamauchi, *Mononoke I*, 15-35.

body of water causing atmospheric refraction due to which shapes, objects and colours seem to shimmer or tremble. According to this logic, natural disasters such as earthquakes or storms were also expressions of some mysterious energy hidden in the universe.¹¹⁰

Sources such as the *Nihon shoki* already display the impact which continental modes of thought brought to Japan by envoys and immigrants, had on the formation of pre-modern Japanese culture. The largest fully-fledged belief system, namely Buddhism, had already spread across the continent and further developed in China and Korea before even making its way across the East China Sea. The version that was introduced to Japan was strongly influenced by the way in which it had developed in China due to the fact that many sutras of the Buddhist canon had been translated into Chinese.¹¹¹ Some Indic traditions thus found their way to the furthest reaches of East Asia as in the case of Indian astrology (*sukuyōdō* 宿曜道), for instance.¹¹² Furthermore, Buddhism merged with Daoist and other indigenous elements on the continent and thus arrived in Japan as a complex amalgamation.¹¹³ Daoism itself never established an institutional presence in Japan, but Daoist knowledge and customs were nevertheless transmitted and absorbed by other traditions and contributed to the formation

¹¹⁰ Ibid.: 49-51. Suwa also discusses the development of beliefs in meta-physical entities in relation to notions of a human soul and burial rites, see Suwa Haruo. *Reikon no bunkashi: Kami, yōkai, yūrei, oni no hikaku kenkyū*. Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2010, 2-9.

¹¹¹ See Lopez, David S. "In the World of the Buddha". *The Norton Anthology of World Religions: Buddhism*, edited by Donald S. Lopez. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2015, 45-77, especially 70. For a short summary of the development of Buddhist thought in China, see Needham, Joseph, and Ronan, Colin A. *The Shorter Science and Civilisation in China: An Abridgement of Joseph Needham's Original Text*, vol. 2. Cambridge University Press, 1978, 259-272. Bowring briefly discusses the introduction of Buddhism to Japan, see Bowring, Richard. *The Religious Traditions of Japan, 500-1600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 15-19.

¹¹² See Kotyk for his entry on *Sukuyōdō* in the Digital Dictionary of Buddhism.

¹¹³ For more information on Buddho-Daoist interactions see Sørensen, Henrik H. "Buddho-Daoism in medieval and early pre-modern China: a report on recent findings concerning influences and shared religious practices". *The Electronic Journal of East and Central Asian Religions* 1 (2013): 109-138.

of *onmyōdō*.¹¹⁴ As Masuo notes, “as Onmyōdō was formed, it subsumed various elements of Chinese folk religion, Daoism, and Mikkyō”.¹¹⁵ Daoist ideas were also absorbed by indigenous cults as can be demonstrated by the extant lists of deities that included Daoist ones and the availability of Daoist texts.¹¹⁶ The label *tennō* itself can be taken to resonate with Daoist meanings as has been, albeit critically, argued by scholars such as Barrett, Fukui and Piggott.¹¹⁷ The organisation of the state based on the *ritsuryō* codes was executed according to the Chinese vision of statecraft, which had an impact on the position and role of the emperor.¹¹⁸ Underlying these different aspects of continental influence were predominant modes of thought that governed the perception of the world. They have been identified by Bodde and Henderson, for example, who narrow them down to a few parameters such as correlativity, symmetry, correspondence, and resonance,¹¹⁹ which will be explained in detail in the next chapter and are of primary importance for our understanding of the Heian-period worldview. All of these traditions put forward their own worldviews, which competed with each other and merged in certain respects into one overarching cosmology that could encompass all of them. Before this step could take place, however, they were filtered through the episteme, based upon which favourable aspects were

¹¹⁴ Bialock, David T. *Eccentric Spaces and Hidden Histories: Narrative, Ritual, and Royal Authority from the Chronicles of Japan to The Tale of the Heike*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007, 24-32. Ooms, “Framing Daoist Fragments”, 37.

¹¹⁵ Masuo, “Chinese Religion and the Formation of Onmyōdō”, 19. Grapard traces the institutionalisation of *yin* and *yang* thought through the establishment of the Onmyōryō and its associated practices, see “Religious Practices”, 547-559. See also Yamashita, “Characteristics of On’yōdō and Related Texts”, 79-105. Murayama delineates the four stages of the development of Onmyōdō in “Kodai Nihon no onmyōdō”. *Onmyōdō Sōsho* Tokyo: Meichō Shuppan, 1991-93, 17-31.

¹¹⁶ See Barrett, Tim H. “Shintō and Taoism in Early Japan”. *Shinto in History: Ways of the Kami*, edited by John Breen and Mark Teeuwen. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press., 2000, 13-31. See 16-19.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.: 22-24. Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*, 144 and 361-362. Fukui Fumimasa. “Fukunaga Mitsuji cho: Dōkyō to Nihon bunka”. *Tōhō shūkyō* 61 (1983): 65-79. See 87-90.

¹¹⁸ See Miller, “Ritsuryō Japan”; and Holcombe, “Ritsuryō Confucianism”.

¹¹⁹ Bodde, Derk. *Chinese Thought, Society, and Science: The Intellectual and Social Background of Science and Technology in Pre-Modern China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1991, 99-133; and Henderson, John B. *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984, 1-27.

selected for adaptation while unfitting ones were discarded. The variety of meta-physical beliefs streaming into the country as constructs of the human mind were turned into explanations for unusual phenomena through the episteme. Since we are trying to deduce some features of the episteme based on empirically verifiable data, I will first consider the level of output before moving onto characteristics of the episteme itself.

4.3.2 Output

On this level it becomes easier to identify those processes of assigning meaning to an event that were restricted in their execution and necessitated a meta-physical realm to draw upon for explanations. Anything that emerges from the episteme represents the sum of knowledge which dictates the manifestations of the fields of knowledge, the articulation of authoritative knowledge, as well as, in our case, processes that put the episteme into practice, such as ritual procedures and divinatory techniques. I have noted previously how the predominant view of the various traditions favoured synthesis, which resulted in a balance among the institutions and ritual specialists who each had their own areas of expertise and tasks to oversee. This overall trend towards unity extends further to the conception of the cosmos to accommodate the continuity between the mundane and meta-physical realms and the maintenance of harmonious relations between them. Due to this continuity, everything in the cosmos could be inhabited by invisible forces that were omnipresent and could have visible and tangible effects on the realm.

The microcosm of the human body or society was correlated with the macrocosm, which can be equated with the universe at large. Hence, they were interdependent and could affect each other. It is precisely because these different realms were co-extensive that it was thought that natural phenomena could be

controlled through cultural means, namely by assigning beliefs to certain phenomena, which results in a nature-culture dialectic. The application and fusion of meta-physical beliefs served to generate knowledge about the world. With the ordered state of the cosmos as a backdrop, the meta-physical beliefs associated with the keywords under consideration in this thesis, occur as indicators of a disruption of that harmony and could function as intermediaries between the realms. Thus, the sources display an overall sense of inadvertently drifting away from an idealised image of the state and imperial rule, which is further exemplified by *mappō* 末法 thought and the fear of not being able to live up to expectations with regards to the meta-physical realm.¹²⁰

The high degree of ritualization in all aspects of life as well as the emphasis placed on ideals of courtliness and aestheticism that governed all modes of behaviour and interaction, favoured conservatism and the reliance on precedents. There was thus limited scope for innovation and the execution of the prescribed procedures came to take precedence over the import of certain actions.¹²¹ However, this attention to detail indicates that there was also a strong awareness of signs and events that were out of place, which were then associated with the meta-physical realm. The appearance of signs that indicated the interference of meta-physical forces often represented indications of divine wrath as a response to human error. The *kami* reacted to the disruption of order by causing disasters and consequently needed to be pacified, while the Buddhist deities were often appealed to in such cases to restore harmony based on their benevolence. This latter category of deities rarely instigated misfortune out of spite for human inadequacy, since, in Buddhist doctrine, each individual was responsible for his or her own fate. Based on these perceptions of causation and interaction between

¹²⁰ All of these points will be addressed in detail and contextualised in chapter 2.

¹²¹ Miller points out this tendency when discussing the role of inspectors in the Heian government, see “Ritsuryō Japan”, 117-119.

the realms, the interference of meta-physical entities acquires the attributes of a moral regulator. Moreover, due to this function of sanctioning human behaviour, the groups and individuals in power could draw upon the meta-physical realm, which was replete with symbolic associations, in order to advance their own socio-political concerns and ambitions. Based on the manipulation of interpretative structures that were commonly applied to inexplicable phenomena, attention could be drawn to particular aspects or institutions as a strategic plan of action resulting in the politicisation of these notions.¹²²

The meta-physical realm was structured hierarchically in a way that mirrored the organisation of the government and society in the human realm. This taxonomical arrangement defined the way in which communication between the realms, namely between certain groups and their affiliated deities, could take place, since only forces and entities of a similar nature could interact and have an effect on one another. An examination of the interactions between the realms furthermore indicates that the emperor and the imperial discourse was strictly separated from all others, since he was restricted, in terms of communication, to a small group of high-ranking *kami* and other deities that would enhance his position as the central ruler. By drawing on meta-physical symbolism, another dimension could be added to the legitimation and retention of imperial power. It emerges from an in-depth analysis of the material that there were three main points of concern regarding the way in which meta-physical beliefs functioned as explanatory tools. These were first of all the endorsement of the centrality of the ruler in both socio-political and meta-physical, thus symbolic, terms. Secondly, the causal logic regarding the occurrence of calamities and illnesses based on human error and neglect. Thirdly, and lastly, the concepts of virtue, purity, and sincerity represented the crucial values through which the

¹²² These are some of the main aspects that will be discussed in chapter 3.

harmony between the realms could be upheld and restored. The preoccupation with these themes presents a central motif within the sources of the Heian period.¹²³ Based on our knowledge of historical developments and the appearance of interpretative patterns and modes of thought on the surface, we can now attempt to reduce these observations to the most fundamental principles that can be seen to represent characteristic features of the episteme.

4.3.3 Episteme

Reduced to the absolute core of what the above expressions represent, these principles also hint at the nature of the Heian-period cosmos. We can infer that the universe was intelligent and anthropocentric, since the macrocosm and the deities responded to human actions and either rewarded or punished their behaviour. All of these levels were furthermore part of one organic whole that was continuous. Based upon this whole such exchanges and correspondences became possible. The overarching unit was structured on the basis of symbolic associations through correlativity and resonance, which established relations between the microcosm and the macrocosm, nature and culture, the various categories of anomalies and the associated phenomena, and placed the emperor at the centre of the universe. This tendency towards correspondence and continuity promoted a combinatory and syncretistic paradigm that produced an inclusive sphere containing a variety of beliefs and focussed on efficacy through the combination of all available techniques regardless of school, doctrine, or traditions – at least in their application to specific situations and the consciousness of the people in abnormal circumstances. This, in turn, created a balance between the various ritual institutions and specialists since they each

¹²³ The evidence for these assertions will be presented in chapter 4.

had their specific duties and preferred methods. The aspect of moral regulation through an intelligent and reactive macrocosm can be seen as a manifestation of an ideal order of the world as it should be that is persistently striven for although it can never be attained. The appearance of anomalous natural phenomena served as a constant reminder of human inadequacy since the country would always be subject to internal and external influences beyond the ruling elite's control.

In terms of the interpretative patterns themselves, a tendency towards catch-all categories can be noted, which is due in part to the fact that the ambiguity and intangibility of the meta-physical realm impede rigorous classifications. This can be exemplified by the term *mono*, for instance, which can capture all abnormal phenomena in contrast to the category of *kami*.¹²⁴ Similarly, the notion of a deity in pre-modern Japan is not fixed and is dependent on the social imaginary.¹²⁵ The prominence of these categories in application to natural phenomena constitutes one of the strategies in place to prevent the loss of meaning and generate acceptable knowledge about the world. Such assumptions could then be tested through ritual, which depending on its efficacy would either confirm or refute the prior classification. Resulting from these underlying modes of thought, we find a highly complex network that was further intertwined with social realities, power relations, and personal views and ambitions.

As this construct is very abstract, it is immediately obvious how difficult it is to differentiate between what the episteme enables or stipulates and what is part of the paradigm itself. Perhaps, at this stage, we can only hope to identify the favoured modes of thought that were produced by the episteme. Nevertheless, we need to insert the category in order to account for the basic syntax. In linguistic theory syntax is only one among many linguistic levels, which together

¹²⁴ Yamauchi, *Mononoke I*, 37-39.

¹²⁵ Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon*, 25-26.

constitute a set of descriptive devices that construct grammars.¹²⁶ Grammar as a device is the mechanical function that generates a set and defines it. In this sense, it is the notion of grammar that comes closest to our conception of the episteme, which means that syntax should also only form a component of the episteme as a method of organisation, while the episteme represents the mechanism itself. The linguistic parallels that derive in large part from formal logic prove to be extremely helpful in the conceptualisation of the episteme. This means that the episteme is the overarching mechanism that produces the set of rules, principles, and processes it generates, which, in turn, are represented by the syntax, i.e. the deep structure that is manifested in surface-level appearances. It cannot be separated from that which it generates since it is necessarily contained within it, as it constitutes both the generative element and represents the set. The episteme should thus be conceived of as an abstract definition and heuristic tool that illuminates the processes it generates and the underlying structure.

I have described the theoretical possibilities, the issues that are encountered when examining this specific topic, and how current theories fall short of objectively conceptualising a pre-modern belief system. For that reason, I have proposed a new and perhaps slightly unorthodox approach that seems to meet the important criteria, while retaining the option of further refinement and expansion of the model.

¹²⁶ Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, 1.

Chapter 2: The centrality of meta-physical beliefs in maintaining epistemological and cosmological order

As this chapter will demonstrate, the meta-physical beliefs, which are represented here by a specific set of keywords,¹ served to differentiate certain beliefs in the deities from others. They defined the ritual context and appropriate countermeasures and acted as intermediaries between humans and the deities. The terms all represented concepts that appeared in the context of calamities, epidemics, and illnesses and their use in the sources imparted a meta-physical quality to such situations. As invisible forces, they were able to interfere with the human realm by traversing the boundaries between conceptual spheres. In the Heian-period imagination, the perceived reason for these meta-physical interventions was human misconduct and the neglect of certain deities in terms of worship, rituals, and the maintenance of their shrines and temples.

The sources reveal that meta-physical notions acted as indicators of a problematic situation that needed to be rectified and were tied into a moral and political discourse on the one hand, and a cosmological one on the other. In this sense, the beliefs associated with these terms could only appear in one specific discourse: as part of the processes constituting cosmological balance or the disruption of that balance and the resulting consequences.² As we shall see, these contexts combined continental traditions with Japanese notions that were

¹ *Mononoke* 物気, *jaki* 邪気, *mokke* 物怪, and *tatari* 祟.

² I understand “discourse” here not in the linguistic sense of communication or a connected set of utterances, but rather in the Foucauldian sense of the term as giving “rise to certain organizations of concepts, certain regroupings of objects, certain types of enunciation, which form, according to their degree of coherence, rigour, and stability, themes or theories.” Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 64. As he further elaborates on in the *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, they serve to constitute knowledge in a space in which “various objects emerge and are continuously transformed” (32) based on the interplay of rules that define the transformations and ordering of these objects (32-33, 48-49) and the institutions from which a particular discourse “derives its legitimate source and point of application.” (51). It thus represents the relations between knowledge and power.

applied in accordance with the worldview and based on the modes of interpretation as they were defined by the episteme. According to this logic, there was only one possible cause in most cases, often the wrath of a particular deity, and the difficulty lay in deciphering the message correctly and determining which deity had been wronged. Thus, the episteme functioned in a very specific way and prescribed the method of interpretation.

The configuration of the beliefs associated with the keywords in an explanatory paradigm constitutes the main focus of this chapter. As such, it produced a repertoire of explanations and established the relations between the human and invisible realms. Founded upon the human obligations towards heaven and the deities, and expectations of moral and virtuous behaviour as well as ritual purity, it served to maintain harmonious relations between the microcosm and the macrocosm. The coexistence of these realms was characterised by a dialectic tension and the paradigm itself expresses the impact of Chinese modes of thought on Japanese interpretations. A typological classification of the keywords reveals their inherent characteristics and their function in demarcating the boundaries between different categories, which reflects a hierarchy of entities in the invisible realm and a division of labour amongst these categories. The first distinction is made between those entities that affected the human body and those that appeared as signs in nature. While *mononoke* was restricted to the diagnosis of illnesses, *jaki* and *mokke*, in addition to their own meanings, served to predicate the presence of *tatari* and thus indicated an underlying and more critical cause.

The arrangement of these keywords and what they signified further reflects the hierarchy of entities in terms of their effects on the visible and empirical realm as well as the rising degree of importance in accordance with their perceived distance from the human realm. My analysis suggests that the highest-ranking entities could not interact with the human sphere directly. This

structuring of the invisible realm, and the clear differentiation between the categories of *mono* and *kami* in particular, determined the principles of communication between the realms. These types of intermediary entities in relation to the deities formed part of an epistemic web, which consisted of certain symbolic conditions that could serve socio-political and economic ends as long as the stipulations and boundaries of the paradigm were maintained. Since different cosmologies were competing for space in the episteme, the terminology was not always fixed and was open to interpretation, which constitutes a problem, especially regarding the category of *mono* in opposition to *kami* and the assignment of an appropriate label.

1. The contexts: environmental and epidemiological factors

Before examining the characteristics of each of the individual keywords and their function within this particular discourse, it is worth considering the contexts which the keywords appear in. These were usually manifestations of visible effects, either affecting the human body directly or its surroundings, with seemingly invisible causes. Essentially, the use of these terms in particular contexts was inextricably linked with the production of knowledge and explanations of the external world. They belonged to a sphere that was more profound than the human realm, as they were thought to be able to intervene and that intervention would have visible or tangible consequences.

Natural calamities and their consequences (epidemics, prolonged illnesses, childbirth, or unusual phenomena) were factors of primary concern to the Heian-period populace. Moreover, the early to mid- Heian period was characterised by depopulation, while the mid- to late Heian period constituted a

period of only minimal growth.³ The main reasons for this were epidemics in the first place, followed by famine, while occasional wars presented a contributing factor, but were not quite as lethal compared to the other two.⁴ These epidemics, in many cases smallpox, came from the continent, where contagious diseases travelled along the Silk Road and entered Japan with the first dispatch of envoys to China in the sixth century. This can be demonstrated by the fact that many epidemics began in Kyushu, which was the main point of entry from the continent, and that they were often ascribed to wandering deities of pestilence, *Ekijin* 疫神 and *Ekiki* 疫気.⁵ Increasing urbanisation and the improvement of road networks facilitated the spread of epidemics, which had severe effects on urban areas and further encouraged notions of pollution and unpacified spirits.⁶ These ideas also formed the basis for the development of the Gion cult centring on Gozu Tennō 牛頭天王, a foreign deity imported from India.⁷ The cult included the main rite for dispelling epidemics and their causes, namely the *goryō-e* 御霊会. This ritual was designed and performed in order to pacify vengeful spirits from 863 onwards.⁸

³ See chapters 3 and 4 in Farris, *Japan to 1600*.

⁴ Ibid.: 59-60.

⁵ For more information on *Ekijin*, see Yamada Yūji, *Sutokuin onryō no kenkyū*. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2001, 26-38. He also describes the development of the perception of epidemics from the late seventh century until the early Heian period. At first, all calamities were attributed to *tatari* caused by one of more *kami*. With the establishment of the *ritsuryō* system, these notions also took on a political dimension and came to be imbued with Confucian notions of virtue. However, from the eighth century onwards, there is a discernible shift, as offerings were made to the various shrines and temples and sutras were recited in times of calamities. The nobility relied upon the help of the deities to pacify the influences causing the epidemic. With the rising prominence of *onmyōdō*, it was generally understood that such rituals were being performed in order to counteract the pestilence-causing demons such as *Ekiki*. From the ninth century onwards, the sources reveal that epidemics were seen to be the result of *Ekijin*. See, 26-29.

⁶ Como, "Onmyōji, the Earth God and Ghosts", 45-46, 52, 56.

⁷ Gozu Tennō was worshipped from the Heian period onwards as a pestilence-causing deity and gained popularity in the whole country through the practices of the *onmyōji*. For more information see Mano Takuya. *Nihon no kamigami wo shiru: Kamisama yonjū yon hashira kara miru Nihon no shintō*. Tokyo: Kanzen, 2014, 224-230.

⁸ For a detailed discussion of *goryō-e* see McMullin, Neil. "On Placating the Gods and Pacifying the Populace: The Case of the Gion 'Goryō' Cult". *History of Religions* 27.3 (1988): 270-293; Farris, *Japan to 1600*, 62. For more information regarding the cult as expressing political attitudes see

The problem in Japan was that the population was not dense enough for the microbes to survive after the outbreak of an epidemic, which meant that when the next epidemic entered the country a decade or several decades later, the younger generation had not been previously exposed to these pathogens. This led to a demographic cycle: “a lethal pestilential visitation, followed by gradual recovery, only to lead to another bout with the same infection among a whole new generation with no immunities.”⁹ Between 993 and 995 an outbreak of smallpox killed twenty to twenty-five per cent of the aristocracy in Kyoto. The records show that in 994, the epidemic started in the first month in Kyushu and reached the capital in the fifth month.¹⁰ An entry in the *Honchō seiki*¹¹ from the twenty-fourth day reveals that the epidemic was affecting daily life at the court and had spread to the whole country.¹² The years from 998 until 1001 represent another acute phase of epidemics, which even prompted the renaming of the era in 999.¹³ The descriptions of corpses littering the streets attest to the devastating effects caused by such epidemics and prompted the performance of ceremonies such as the *goryō-e* or the *ninnō-e* 仁王会, a ritual which involved the recitation of the *Sutra for Humane Kings* (*Ninnō-kyō* 仁王經) and prayers for the protection of the country (*chingo kokka* 鎮護国家).¹⁴

Kuroda Toshio, “The World of Spirit Pacification”. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 3/4 (1996): 327-330.

⁹ Farris, *Japan to 1600*, 36.

¹⁰ Shigeta, *Heian kizoku to onmnyōji*, 160.

¹¹ The *Honchō seiki* is a collection of historical documents that was compiled by the late Heian-period scholar, Fujiwara no Michinori (1106-1160), and spans the period from 935 until 1153, focussing on the reigns of the emperors.

¹² 疫病不止。京中外国。 *Kokushi taikei*, vol. 9, 220.

¹³ 長徳五年(長保元年)正月十三日。改為長保元年。依去年赤斑瘡疫也。 “Fusō ryakki” in *Kokushi taikei*, vol. 12, 262. Spanning the reigns of various *tennō* beginning with Jinmu and ending with Horikawa in 1094, the *Fusō ryakki* is a historical document that was compiled by the Tendai monk Kōen (?-1169), which is why there is a strong emphasis on Buddhist matters throughout the text.

¹⁴ 1001, fifth month, ninth day: 京師諸人於紫野行御靈會。道路死骸不知其數。 “Fusō ryakki” in *Kokushi taikei* vol. 12, 262.

Malnutrition due to regular famines caused either by drought or too much rain was another significant cause of death. The climate was much colder in the twelfth century due to eruptions of Mt. Fuji and other volcanoes, which led to frequent outbreaks of influenza and failed harvests.¹⁵ LaFleur's analysis of hungry ghosts (*gaki* 餓鬼, Sanskrit *preta*) demonstrates how the invisible processes at work in nature, such as natural decay, were associated with certain types of meta-physical entities, and how their image – the extended stomachs and needle throats – was perhaps modelled on starving people.¹⁶ These conditions had an immense impact on people's lives and were a constant cause for concern, since they were beyond human control and could not be accounted for without recourse to meta-physical forces. While the symptoms of a disease were visible, its spread was not, just like there was seemingly no cause that related to unseasonable weather. These situations of crisis, combined with a lack of explanations of observable facts, presented the most prominent contexts for the appearance of the meta-physical beliefs to be analysed here. Based on the episteme, they constituted the only logical explanations.

¹⁵ Farris, *Japan to 1600*, 62-64, and 90.

¹⁶ LaFleur, "Hungry Ghosts and Hungry People: Somaticity and Rationality in Medieval Japan". *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, edited by Ramona Naddaff Michel Feher and Nadia Tazi. 1. New York; Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989. His perceptive study illustrates how *gaki*, while invisible, were perceived to be present in everyday life, performing a variety of necessary tasks, such as disposing of excrement (by eating it). They essentially represented the process of natural decay through bacteria and could also account for other phenomena such as the evaporation of water, etc. 278-287, 294-295.

2. The necessity of classifications: the categorisation of unusual events

The four keywords to be analysed in this chapter are *mononoke* and *jaki*, *tatari*, which has the broadest application of all four terms, and *mokke*, which is restricted to phenomena in nature. *Mononoke* is a term that is commonly understood to signify an evil spirit, which is very much influenced by the research done on this topic in relation to courtly tale literature, especially the *Tale of Genji*. However, upon closer inspection, it becomes clear that there has been much confusion regarding the concept and especially its terminology. In most current dictionaries, *mononoke* is listed under the characters 物の怪, and these are also commonly used in relation to the concept in *kana* literature. Yet, in the official sources written in *kanbun*, the concept is referred to by the characters 物気, while 物怪 (*mokke* or *mono no satoishi*)¹⁷ indicates an unusual event in nature that functioned as an omen.¹⁸ *Jaki*, in many cases, is very similar to what is referred to by *mononoke*, and both terms are often used interchangeably by Japanese scholars.¹⁹ It may have been a matter of preference for Heian-period authors²⁰

¹⁷ I follow Mori and Yamashita's reading of the term here, as they seem to represent the most accurate portrayals of the concept. Mori, "Mononoke, mono no satoishi, mokke, kiai: Hyōrei to kaiigenshō to ni kakawaru goshi", 73-74, 80. Yamashita, "Wazawai, Kaii to tennō", 187. *Satoishi* carries the notion of an announcement, which indirectly refers to its role as an omen.

¹⁸ Sako provides a detailed explanation of the differences between the terms and their use in various sources. See *Hyōrei shinkō no rekishi to minzoku*, 59-63.

¹⁹ Mori regards them as synonymous terms ("Mononoke, mono no satoishi, mokke, kiai", 77), while Taniguchi concedes that *jaki* used to encompass a wider range of meanings before developing into a term that denoted spirits of the dead or living. ("Heian kizoku no shippei ninshiki to jiryōhō", 69) Fujimoto, "Fujiwara no Michinaga no mononoke kan" (21) and "Heianchō no mononoke no yōtai - "Shōyūki" wo chūshin ni" (77), does not distinguish between the two, and uses 物怪 for the concept *mononoke*, as does Komatsu in *Hyōrei shinkōron*, see chapter five: "Gohō shinkō ronkakusho", 231. Koyama, while presenting a more nuanced differentiation of concepts, also regards them as one entity, 11. Similarly, Shigeta, Ueno, and many more could be named, which points to the magnitude of the problem and the fact that the issue regarding the terminology is far from resolved.

²⁰ *Mononoke* does not appear in the *Gonki* at all, even though many *jaki* make an appearance, while *jaki* does not seem to appear in the *Sakeiki*, for example, and only *mononoke* is used.

and there are some examples in which both terms occur, seemingly pointing to the same issue.²¹

A closer examination reveals, however, that historically, *jaki* encompassed a much more variegated range of meanings in the sense of evil or poisonous *ki* or a detrimental influence, which resonates with Chinese conceptions of the term. In some texts it is used to denote a state of confusion in contrast to a state of harmony (*shingi taiwa* 真気太和), when the cosmological forces such as *yin* and *yang* were out of balance due to inappropriate human actions.²² These underlying notions should be understood as latent meanings of *jaki*, and, while not always apparent, should still be evaluated as an inherent part of the term. *Tatari* is the most difficult term to define, as it represents a force that was sent by an invisible agent, whether an entity such as *mononoke* or *jaki*, or the deities, and it was thus never the ultimate cause. Its presence could only be revealed through divination, while its effects were manifested in the form of physical symptoms, such as illnesses, or calamitous events, such as fires, meteorological phenomena, etc. In its oldest sense, *tatari* was an expression of divine will regarding the role of humans in relation to the *kami* and the wishes of the deities as specific requests for more worship.²³ Only later did it become associated with notions of vengeful spirits, such as Prince Sawara, after it had already been related to imperial

²¹ Consider, for instance, this entry from the *Chūyūki*, the diary of Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠 (1062-1141), a Heian-period courtier who held the position of Udaijin 右大臣 (Minister of the Right) and was thus one of the highest-ranking ministers at the court. In 1106, the *tennō* was suffering from influenza and a divination was performed in order to determine the cause. 九月二十一日: 今日御物氣被渡、頗雖温氣御、卜筮之所告邪氣者、仍御物氣被渡也。

²² “Ruiju Jingi Hongen”, *Gunsho Ruijū*, Jingi-bu, scroll 1, 7. <https://japanknowledge-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/lib/display/?kw=%E9%82%AA%E6%B0%97&lid=91031V010027#V30100100> Accessed: 2018/07/27.

²³ Ōe, *Nihon kodai no kami to rei*, 15-17. His work represents a detailed analysis of the notion of *tatari*.

tombs.²⁴ Like *mokke*, *tatari* also represent an impersonal force in the sense that they do not constitute entities of themselves such as *mononoke* and *jaki*.

This choice of keywords may seem arbitrary at first glance, but they do display significant similarities regarding their functions and characteristics. They all represent ambiguous notions that could not be understood directly but had to be revealed either through divination or ritual. Until their meaning became fixed dependent on those interpretations, they constituted floating signifiers. As such they contained an overabundance of meaning in relation to what was signified, from which the most practical cause could be deduced. As this chapter will demonstrate, these terms were capable of acting as signs, in the sense of a hidden message from the invisible realm that had to be deciphered. They could thus function as intermediaries between the human realm and invisible agents. The situations in which these keywords appear were anomalous events, whether contained within the human body or expressed in natural phenomena and often prompted metaphysical speculation.

On the level of the human body we are mostly presented with situations such as prolonged illness, unusual behaviour, sudden changes in bodily functions, or childbirth, while in nature, signs from the invisible realm appeared in the form of natural calamities, strange astronomical or meteorological events, unusual behaviour of animals, epidemics, and damage to places of worship. This brief overview of the keywords and their associated contexts already suggests a division between the level of the individual, on which certain types of metaphysical agents were thought to have their effects, namely *mononoke* and *jaki*, and nature or a wider part of society as the background for unusual events that were categorised as *mokke* or caused by *tatari*. This latter term was actually

²⁴ Ibid. Chapter 4.1 on Prince Sawara, whom he considers to be a central element in the development of the concept of *tatari*, as it coincided with the move to Heian-kyō. See also 283-286 and Ōe, "'Tatari', 'onryō', soshite 'goryō' – Shinrei wo kataru mono". *Kaigaku no Kanōsei*, edited by Higashi Ajia Kai Gakkai. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2009, 57-59, 63-66.

thought to be able to traverse the boundary between these two levels and could have adverse effects on both. These points and their implications will be formulated and examined in detail throughout this chapter.

I have indicated that beliefs in meta-physical agents adhere to a certain structure and appear in specific and determined ways. There seem to have been conceptual boundaries that could not be crossed. As mentioned previously, however, the continuity between the realms meant that the natural world was permeated by meta-physical forces, which, as Grapard notes, became the objects of worship because they were considered to be more important.²⁵ However, very often these forces would act in response to human behaviour, so that the relationship between the spirit world and the natural material world became co-dependent. A quote from the *Chōyagunsai* epitomises this attitude, but it will also become apparent from the examples used in this chapter: “The kami of themselves have no value, their value is based on the people worshipping them. People, by themselves, are not safe, their safety depends on the help of the kami.”²⁶ Actions performed in one realm would have an effect on the other and elicit a response. Hence, it was of utmost importance to maintain harmonious relations so that both the visible and invisible realms could be kept in balance. The categories contained within the invisible realm were not absolute but were characterised rather by ambiguity and transformation.

The forces denoted by the keywords could act as signs of an underlying cause usually related to a deity. This means that the deities were further removed

²⁵ Grapard, “The Economics of Ritual Power”, 68.

²⁶ 神不自貴。以人之尊則貴。人不自安。依神之助則安。(*Kokushi taiki*, vol. 29.1, 55) This statement occurs within a *saimon* 祭文 (an address to the deities, a ritual prayer text) composed by Minamoto no Kaneakira 源兼明 (914-987) in 975 in honour of the deity of Kameyama (a mountain in Saga near Kyoto). Kaneakira, an imperial prince, decided to sever his ties with the imperial family to become a subject of the state, which is when he received this name. Later in his life he decided to return to the imperial family. The *Chōyagunsai* is a collection of literary works, imperial decrees and governmental edicts, which was compiled in 1116 by Miyoshi Tameyasu 三善為康 (1049-1139) a Heian-period scholar and government official.

from the human realm than the entities associated with the keywords and that there was a conceptual boundary preventing the higher-ranking deities from interacting with humans directly. They needed a medium to make their displeasure known, be it in the form of entities associated with the keywords, dreams or oracles. It implies that the various entities that made up the meta-physical realm were arranged on a type of spectrum, which became increasingly indirect and removed from the human realm the more worship a deity received in accordance with its rank. The *Chōyagunsai* quotation itself tells us how the worth and status of a deity was determined. The spectrum was not static, but flexible and permeable, allowing entities to migrate from one category to another. This migration was usually associated with the degree of worship, if any, an entity received. In a sense this can probably be ascribed to the Buddhist doctrine of transmigration and the karmic cycle of rebirth.²⁷

The term “deity” is misleading in this context since some of the beliefs associated with the keywords might also be categorised as such. Criteria that set those entities that are generally termed deities apart from others, are the factors of worship and locality. Worship according to fixed patterns and procedures was a fundamental component in ensuring the deity’s benevolence, as was the maintenance of the location that was associated with it in the form of a shrine or temple. A neglect of either one of these elements would cause signs to occur in nature and calamitous events and epidemics would ensue. It is of particular interest to note that at the Ise Shrines, the violent aspects (*aramitama* 荒魂) of both Amaterasu, the main deity of the Inner Shrine, and Toyouke, the main deity of the Outer Shrine, were enshrined separately in auxiliary shrines (*betsugū* 別宮).

²⁷ While this is mere speculation, Ueno notes that with the rising popularity of Pure Land thought, entities such as vengeful spirits may have been understood to reside in one of the Buddhist hells, from where they wanted to make their suffering known. See *Yume to mononoke no seishinshi*, 139-141.

It was this facet of the deity that was seen to be responsible for calamities, which means that the two aspects of one and the same deity were spatially separated.²⁸

However, there are areas of overlap where the boundaries become increasingly vague. *Onryō* and *goryō* are well-known concepts that exemplify the process of deification and display the potential for transformation.²⁹ If these *onryō* became matters of national concern due to the harm they were inflicting, they received more ritual attention in order to be pacified, which resulted in their growing prominence and eventual deification. According to Plutschow, the degree of power such a vengeful spirit could have was coextensive either with the position and status of the person in life or with the degree of injustice the person had suffered.³⁰

The ambiguous nature of meta-physical entities is further reflected in the various astral and ambulatory deities, usually associated with *onmyōdō*, which were thought to travel across the heavens and descend to earth in fixed cycles, which was correlated with the Five Phases (*gogyō* 五行).³¹ Most of these deities of vague Daoist origin had no specific places of worship and were placated through rituals that were usually performed at crossroads, gates and similar locations that exhibited a sense of a border. A similar case in point is the deity of pestilence discussed briefly earlier.³² In order to dispel the effects of these entities, rituals such as the *Shikakusai* 四角祭 and the *Shikaisai* 四界祭³³ formed

²⁸ See Teeuwen, Mark. "The Creation of a *Honji Suijaku* Deity", 129. It is unclear whether this is the case for other high-ranking *kami* as well.

²⁹ I define *onryō* as vengeful or angry spirits, while *goryō* indicates the deification of the entity that has become an object of worship, which is an inherent notion in the performance of the *goryō-e*. Sugawara no Michizane probably constitutes the most famous example of this process of deification. For further reading on the topic see Ooms and his chapter on "Spirits" in *Imperial Politics and Symbolics in Ancient Japan*, 224-252, and Plutschow, "The Fear of Evil Spirits in Japanese Culture", as well as Chapter 16: "The Nature of Japanese Evil Spirits" in *Chaos and Cosmos*. For works in Japanese see, for instance, Shibata, *Goryō shinkō* and Ōmori, *Nihon no onryō*.

³⁰ Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos*, 204.

³¹ For more detailed information see Frank's *Kata-imi and Kata-tagae*, 50-51, and 121-169.

³² See pages 91-93.

³³ See Miyazaki, "Onmyōdō saishi no ikkōsatsu", 36-38 and Sano, "Tenchi shihōhai no juyō", 57-75.

part of the expertise of the *onmyōji*. They involved the performance of the *Kikisai* 鬼気祭, a ritual that was aimed at the harmful influences stemming from demons (*oni no ke*³⁴), at the four corners of the palace and the four borders of Yamashiro province, where Kyoto was situated.³⁵

Having mentioned the concepts of *onryō* and *goryō*, it is worth noting that they are very often associated with the concept of *mononoke* and, by extension, *jaki*, and are usually taken to refer to the same object. However, a closer inspection of these keywords and their functions uncovers how such an approach leads to a distorted perception of the phenomena. First of all, in the types of sources examined here, the term *onryō* does not appear very often,³⁶ and *goryō*, while appearing more frequently, is mostly associated with the regular performance of *goryō-e*, especially in the diaries.³⁷ I do not deal with these terms here because their meaning is very specific and points directly to what they signify, i.e. a particular spirit that was causing disruption and misfortune, which may or may not be identified as the spirit of a person. Furthermore, they are also the terms that have received the most attention in this field. While there were fixed procedures in place to deal with the appearance of *mononoke* and *jaki*, in most cases, the underlying causes had to be revealed through either divination or *kaji*. This involved either the presence of a medium who conveyed a message concerning a particular entity, or speculations based on the specific circumstances. In situations where *mononoke* or *jaki* acted as symptoms of an

³⁴ This term will be discussed in more detail below, and for now should not be understood in the common sense of the term, but rather as a more inclusive category of evil influences.

³⁵ Miyazaki Mayu. "Onmyōdō Saishi no Ikkō Satsu: Kikisai, shikakushikaisai wo chūshin ni". *Kōgakkan ronsō* 45.3 (2012): 20-44. See specifically 36-38. Shigeta, *Heian Kizoku to Onmyōji*, 172-175.

³⁶ Seven instances of *onryō* appear in the diaries and four in other historical documents, while hundreds of examples of *jaki* can be found for the Heian period and well over thirty examples of *mononoke*. Refer to appendix 1 for a list of the examples.

³⁷ The number of occurrences is still comparatively small when measured against *mononoke* and *jaki*, especially when they are mentioned independently as causes for illness, for example, and not as part of the term *goryō-e*.

underlying cause, their meaning was only ascertained in a second stage and until then these terms could embody a range of meanings belonging to the same class of entities from which one specific interpretation could be drawn.³⁸

In 1015, Sanjō Tennō 三條天皇 (976-1017)³⁹ was suffering from an eye condition, which is described as an illness and related to the term *jaki* throughout the entries for the fifth month in the *Shōyūki*.⁴⁰ The performance of *kaji*⁴¹ uncovered the presence of the deity Shōten 聖天 (Gaṇeśa, also Kangiten 歡喜天 in Japanese) and revealed the cause. It was because the services for this deity had been neglected that *tatari* had spread, which resulted in the emperor's illness. It is unclear whether it was Shōten himself who presented this message, or whether the *jaki* was conveying the information. However, we know that it was Shōten who had caused *jaki*, which in turn disrupted the harmony within the emperor's body.⁴² *Jaki* is seen here as the cause of Sanjō's eye condition, but it is further specified that it was due to Shōten whose ritual services had been neglected. It should be kept in mind here that this event falls into the period in which the Fujiwara regents were at the height of their power. Michinaga's involvement should not be underestimated, since he was probably the reason why the monk Shinyo was summoned specifically, and one of his daughters was married to the *tennō*.⁴³

³⁸ This is not to say that there were no cases in which these terms referred directly to an entity such as an evil spirit or that they were not imagined as such in the popular imagination, but the primary matter of interest here is what they signify and how the terms were employed in order to provide an explanation.

³⁹ See Appendix 5, ex. 1 for a description of the situation.

⁴⁰ The *Shōyūki* is the diary of the influential courtier Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資 (957–1046), who rose to become *Udaijin* (Minister of the Right) in 1021 and received the first court rank. The diary spans roughly sixty years, from 978 until 1036, although some parts are no longer extant. It thus constitutes the longest surviving memoir from the Heian period.

⁴¹ An esoteric Buddhist ritual that was utilised as a healing technique. See Winfield, "Curing with Kaji", 108.

⁴² 心營令奉御加持、聖天顯云、御邪氣能被調伏〔又〕、香賜贖〔贈〕位、但聖天供事、儲貳之時、嚴教預供、從登極之日、已無供養、因之成祟所奉致也 (*Shōyūki*, Vol. 4, 43).

⁴³ Sansom, George, *A History of Japan: To 1334*, vol. 1, 164-165.

Another example involving Michinaga specifically can illustrate how *jaki* was commonly assigned to a situation first before it was related to a specific agent. In 1018, throughout the fourth and following months, he was very unwell and the Five Altars Ceremony (*godanhō* 五壇法)⁴⁴ and the *shuhō* (修法) were performed in order to drive out negative forces. When *jaki* was finally revealed, those present identified the entity as Michikane's spirit, even though no name had been given.⁴⁵ Michikane 道兼 (961-995) was Michinaga's brother and assumed the position of *kanpaku* 関白 in 995. However, he died after only a few days in office and was then succeeded by Michinaga, who apparently felt some guilt over assuming this position since Michikane's spirit possessed him several times.⁴⁶ These examples serve to demonstrate that *jaki* functioned as a catch-all term in many cases, until it was further specified.

A closer inspection of the primary sources reveals that there were cases in which *jaki* was appended to a term denoting another meta-physical entity, and, in one instance, to *onryō*. In the entry in which this compound appears, it seems unlikely that the two terms were taken to refer to the same entity. The example is taken from the *Sankaiki*,⁴⁷ a record of the late Heian period, when the socio-political scene had changed profoundly due to the reign of cloistered emperors (*insei* 院政) and the simultaneous decline of the Fujiwara. In 1178, two years prior

⁴⁴ This ritual constitutes one type of *shuhō* in which five altars were built and ceremonies were performed for each of the Five Wisdom Kings (*godai myōō* 五大明王). It was performed in order to avoid calamities or exorcise an evil influence and was usually reserved for the *tennō* and matters of national importance.

⁴⁵ See Appendix 5, ex. 2. 御病軀似熱氣、飲食不受給、夜部邪氣託人、不稱名、氣色似故二条相府靈、道兼、… Vol. 5, 22.

⁴⁶ Fujimoto, "Fujiwara no Michinaga no mononoke kan", 22-23. In this article, Fujimoto discusses the possibility that Michinaga had a very specific view of vengeful spirits, which she refers to as 物の怪, due to the way in which he dealt with his political rivals.

⁴⁷ The *Sankaiki* is the diary of Nakayama no Tadachika 中山忠親 (1132-1195), who was originally of Fujiwara descent, but later received the name Nakayama due to the location of his secondary residence where he lived in later years. The memoir covers the years from 1151 until 1194.

to the onset of the Genpei 源平 war (1180-1185), a written address was presented to the deities and a variety of rituals were performed in order to pray for the safe delivery of the imperial prince Tokihito 言仁親王, the later Emperor Antoku. In this example, it was the *tatari* of the *onryō jaki* that caused concern.⁴⁸ If *jaki* is to be understood as an evil spirit, it does not make sense to include the specific term *onryō*, which points directly to the entity it is referring to. Due to the sentence structure it appears that *tatari* refers to both terms. In its most literal sense, it could either mean the evil *ki* that the *onryō* emitted, thus causing *tatari*, or it could refer to two separate entities that produced *tatari*. The character *ki* 氣 (Ch. *qì*) is significant here, as it points to an inherent notion of the terms *mononoke* and *jaki*.

In Chinese cosmology *qi* is understood as bringing forth all things and, in simplistic terms, as the all-pervasive medium of the universe that brings the various realms of the cosmos in relation to each other and causes them to interact. It is both a substance and a process and, in order to capture its ambivalent features and its mutability, it has aptly been termed an “energetic constellation”.⁴⁹ The universe should be understood as a continuum, which consists of a single substance, namely *qi*, in its various phases.⁵⁰ This concept played an important role in the Heian-period worldview and is apparent from a variety of words to which *ki* is appended. It occurs most frequently with terms such as *kegare* 穢気 (ritual pollution), illness 悩気, 病気, rain 雨気, and terms such as *mononoke* and *jaki*, or even the *ki* of *goryō* 御霊気.⁵¹ It also appears in relation

⁴⁸ See Appendix 5, ex. 3. 縦有怨霊邪氣之祟、拂之未兆、退之他方 *Sankaiki*, 150-151.

⁴⁹ Morohashi Tetsuji. *Dai kanwa jiten*. Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 1989, vol. 6, 847. Engelhardt, Ute. *Die klassische Tradition der Qi-Übungen (Qigong)*. Uelzen: Medizinisch Literarische Verlagsgesellschaft, 1997, 10-11. She bases her definition of *qi* on Porkert's previous studies on the topic. See Porkert, Manfred. *Die theoretischen Grundlagen der chinesischen Medizin: Das Entsprechungssystem*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1973, 139 ff.

⁵⁰ Seidel, Anna. “Taoismus - Die Inoffizielle Religion Chinas”. *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* 41 (1990): 1-81, see 6.

⁵¹ *Sakeiki*, fourth day of the intercalary fifth month 1026.

<http://rakusai.nichibun.ac.jp/kokiroku/list.php> Accessed: 2018/08/01.

to the invisible agent thought to spread disease, namely Ekiki 疫気, and forms part of the term *kikisai* 鬼気祭, which denotes the ritual performed to expel the *ki* of *oni*.

The notions of “increasing *ki*” 増気 and “decreasing *ki*” 減気 are further prominent concepts found in the context of illnesses, which refer respectively to the deterioration or improvement of the patient’s state.⁵² From this we know that the level of *ki* causes the illness and determines the outcome. In texts that predate the Heian period it seems that *ki* was also applied to the effects of epidemics and natural phenomena in reference to their energy, such as the *ki* of fire or the sun, which both emanate heat and light, or of earthquakes, storms, etc.⁵³ It should be clear from these examples that *ki* can only be understood here as a suffix that expresses the innate quality of the concept it is appended to and its effect. In line with this interpretation, *jaki* should be taken to express the notion of a harmful type of *ki* that derives from a malevolent invisible agent and causes adverse effects for the entity it comes into contact with.

The elucidation of a situation of crisis contained many variables and competing interpretations, which reflected the opinions of the authors, the ritual practitioners and other participants. Sanjō Tennō’s illness in 1015 is recorded in both the *Shōyūki* and the *Midō kanpakuki*, whose authors put forward different interpretations of the same event based on different methods of enquiry.⁵⁴ In the first example the identification of the harmful influences was based on Abe no Yoshihira’s divination as *tatari* of the *jaki* of Ekiki, while in the second example the performance of *kaji* by an esoteric Buddhist monk reveals the vengeful spirit of the monk Gashō 賀静 (887-967). Any definition of *jaki* should be able to

⁵² A quick search for these terms using the Shiryō Hensanjo’s databases provides numerous examples of these expressions.

⁵³ Yamauchi, *Mononoke*, 49-51.

⁵⁴ See Appendix 5, ex. 4.

accommodate both of these options and the inherent latent meanings of the term based on its historical development. They comprised continental notions, and the meanings discussed previously that can be found in other sources, such as the *ki* of chaos and confusion and evil *ki*. *Jaki* thus denotes the harmful effects of evil *ki* and encompasses the more concrete notion of vengeful spirits as the source of that evil *ki*, while retaining the possibility of multiple other interpretations.

In contrast, *mononoke* exhibits a different set of features and is generally a more inclusive term that can incorporate notions such as *jaki* and constitutes a category that is opposed to and separated from the deities (*kami*). This can explain why these two terms were seen as roughly synonymous in some instances but can also account for their variations.⁵⁵ Since ancient times *mono* can be demonstrated to have been applied to inexplicable phenomena, and a variety of characters that have different readings today and denote other concepts were originally subsumed under the term. The etymology of the term has been discussed by various Japanese scholars and it is generally accepted that characters such as *rei* 霊, and *oni* 鬼 were supposed to be read as *mono* in the earliest written sources such as the *Nihon shoki*. It was tied into the discourse of *tama* 魂 (the human “soul” or “spirit”) and could incorporate notions of the deities as well. According to Yamauchi, *mono* should be seen as a word with no inherent symbolic value that could prevent loss of meaning by giving a name to what lay beyond the boundaries of people’s knowledge.⁵⁶ A closer look at the term *oni* (or *mono*) reveals that it may also have been understood as spirits of the dead in the classical Chinese sense rather than as the typified demons we mostly associate

⁵⁵ The *Taiki* (diary of Fujiwara no Yoronaga 藤原頼長, 1120-1156) presents one of the rare examples in which both terms appear synonymously. 1143, fifth month, fifteenth day, 196: 暁退物気、已刻束帶、參新院、相公羽林(藤原教長)云、疱瘡已平復了、邪気云々。

⁵⁶ Kokushi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai. *Kokushi Daijiten*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1979, 845-846; Inui Katsumi and Shimura Kunihiro (eds.). *Nihon Denki Densetsu Daijiten*. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1986, 888-889; Yamauchi, *Mononoke*, 36-38, 50; Mori, “Mononoke, mono no satoshi, mokke, kaii”, 73-77.

with the term today.⁵⁷ All of the terms and notions related to *mono* then take on a particular quality that evokes a sense of a meta-physical entity or ancestral spirits, although they are not restricted to this interpretation.

Shigeta has a very specific definition of *ki* and also *mononoke*, which has an impact on his categorisation of these notions. He understands *ki* to denote the same concept as *tatari* as something that is sent by another entity, while *mononoke* is taken to refer to the illness itself as being caused by another entity. In this sense *tatari* and *mononoke* are essentially the same. While this last assertion is problematic in my opinion, since the latter usually appears as a category that can be opposed to other categories and the former represents a force, it can be useful to think of *ki* in terms of *tatari* as a force that is being emitted by an entity. As we will see, many functions that were assigned to the impersonal concept of Heaven in China and the laws that governed the cosmos were taken over by the deities in Japan, which points to a degree of assimilation. Thinking back to the ritual of *Kikisai*, *kiki* should be understood as *oni no ke*, which can then refer to the influence that was being emitted by an undefined entity with a strong inclination towards spirits of the dead.⁵⁸

In order to take all of these points into consideration, I propose a new definition of *mononoke* as the “energetic constellation” of *ki* that is emitted by an entity that falls within the category of *mono*. This catch-all term encompassed a variety of invisible agents that were not necessarily deities, had harmful effects on the human realm and caused illnesses or had a negative impact on the human body. Due to the roughly synonymous use of *jaki*, it can be seen to fall within this category as well, since it portrays a more specific type of negative or detrimental *ki*. We have seen that illnesses could be caused by *mononoke*, but this notion was part of a broader explanatory system that also included the *kami* as a source of

⁵⁷ Shigeta, *Heian Kizoku to Onmyōji*, 154-157.

⁵⁸ Ibid.: 151-152, 172-175.

illness (*kami no ke*), which in turn created an opposition between these two categories. It was of vital importance for the Heian-period populace to distinguish clearly between the two. *Kami no ke* or *kami no tatari* was specifically thought to cause epidemics, which lay beyond the power of *mononoke*.⁵⁹

This distinction presented a cause for much deliberation and debate, as the performance of the wrong set of rituals would have disastrous consequences. The *mishuhō*, for instance, could not be performed in the case of *kami no ke*, since it was reserved for the elimination of *mononoke*. Furthermore, evidence can be found in the sources that demonstrates how the opinions of a person of high status, such as Michinaga, had an impact on the results of the ritual practitioners. Since they were the ones who commissioned the divinations and rituals, the practitioners had to conform to their wishes and expectations to a certain degree.⁶⁰ The variability of the results of divinations based on the opinions of those who requested them can be demonstrated by the following example from the same year. In the seventh month, Fujiwara no Sukehira 藤原資平 (986-1068), who was Sanesuke's adopted son, was feeling unwell, so that Abe no Yoshihira was summoned to perform a divination. The results revealed that a spirit was to blame for this illness, which in turn implied *jaki*.

However, the author disagreed with this interpretation as an epidemic was spreading concurrently and he thought *kaji*, which would have been performed for *jaki*, was not appropriate at this time. The next day, Yoshihira performed another divination with the result that the illness was due to the epidemic and thus contradicted his own previous assessment of the situation. The author comments: "Yesterday's divination said it is due to the *ki* of *spirits*,

⁵⁹ Taniguchi discusses at length how *kami no ke* was associated with epidemics and how they took precedence over those illnesses caused by *mononoke*. "Heian kizoku no shippei ninshiki to jiryōhō", 60-65. A similar explanation of *kami no ke* can be found in Shigeta, *Heian Kizoku to Onmyōji*, 160-165.

⁶⁰ See Appendix 5, ex. 5.

today's that it is due to an epidemic, how can this be determined?"⁶¹ The malleability of the results attests to the importance of the opinions of those who requested the divinations and how the *onmyōji* sought to respond to their demands. Nevertheless, there are also examples in which the ritual practitioners refused to comply with their patron's wishes because they feared to incur the wrath of the *kami*.⁶²

These examples vividly display the distinction made between the two different types of *ki*, namely that of *mono* and that of *kami*, and that the latter was more severe than the former. They further reveal that *kaji* and *shuhō* could not be performed if the cause was thought to be related to the *kami* or if the cause was unclear. In such cases, generalised countermeasures, namely sutra recitations and offerings to the shrines, were undertaken. Since the specialised rituals directed against *mononoke* were of a Buddhist nature, they were not appropriate in those cases that related to the *kami* as they could anger them further.⁶³ The importance of this distinction indicates that *mono* as a category served to differentiate a category of *kami* from other types of entities, which were seemingly held in higher esteem and were endowed with stronger powers.⁶⁴ The question of which entities belonged to the category of *kami* represents an issue that will be explored in further detail throughout the thesis. From an etic perspective, they seem to constitute the differentiation between regular illnesses and epidemics and reflect a conscious categorical separation of different types of phenomena. Thus, they display an awareness of fundamental differences

⁶¹ *Shōyūki* vol. 4, 57-58: 昨占靈氣、今占 疫氣、以何為定哉.

⁶² See Appendix 5, ex. 6.

⁶³ Taniguchi, "Heian kizoku no shippei ninshiki to jiryōhō", 67; Shigeta, *Heian kizoku to onmyōji*, 165-166.

⁶⁴ These two categories were distinguished on various levels, namely based on their positions within a meta-physical hierarchy, the types of effects they could have on the human realm, how they were differentiated in terms of ritual, and the way in which they functioned as signifiers, since the *kami* as a cause were often predicated by *mokke* and *tatari*.

regarding the causes of certain phenomena that could only be explained in this way.

In order to conclude this section, one more category should be mentioned that is of some importance regarding the way in which different types of meta-physical entities were perceived, namely *kishin* 鬼神. According to Morohashi, *kishin* can refer to spirits of the dead or ancestral spirits, as well as wise divine spirits who guide divinations, the spirits of matter and mind, often denoted as the *yin* and *yang* spirits, which constitute the soul of a person, malevolent deities that harm humans, or the deities that created heaven and earth, as an obscure principle of creation. This latter notion is illustrated by a quotation from Zhang Zai's collected works (張子全書)⁶⁵, which associates *kishin* with two types of *ki/qi*. *Oni* (or *mono*) represents the spirit of *yin*, while *kami* constitute the *yang* spirit.⁶⁶ This definition encompasses a wide variety of meta-physical entities that seemingly include both the category of *mono* and that of the *kami*. In the *Wamyō Ruijushō* 倭名類聚抄,⁶⁷ the whole section relating to both the deities (*shinrei* 神靈) and demons (*kibi* 鬼魅) is subsumed under the term *kishin*. The former category includes a number of deities some of which were of Chinese origin such as Tenjin 天神, Taihaku 太白, Tenichi 天一, deities of the mountains, lakes, rivers, and roads, Dokujin 土公神, the deities of droughts and thunderstorms, etc.⁶⁸

The term does not appear very frequently in the diaries, although it does occur in other historical documents of the Heian period that sometimes cite Chinese sources. In classical Chinese it appears to have referred to a category of

⁶⁵ *Zhang Zai's Collected Works* 張子全書. Zhang Zai (1020-1077) was a Song-period Neo-Confucian scholar and philosopher, who developed a very specific cosmology that centred on the notion of *qi*. Ommerborn, Wolfgang. "Begriffe in Der Chinesischen Geistesgeschichte: 'Qi'" *Zeitschrift für Qigong Yangsheng* (2004): 105–108.

⁶⁶ Morohashi, *Dai kanwa jiten*, vol. 12, 679.

⁶⁷ A dictionary of Chinese characters written by Minamoto no Shitagō 源順 (911-983) in 938.

⁶⁸ <https://textdb01.ninjal.ac.jp/dataset/kwrs/txt/kwrs-001.txt> Accessed: 2018/08/09.

spiritual or meta-physical beings in general, or spirits of the dead, and it is very often simply translated as spirits.⁶⁹ However, much more ambiguous entities have been included in the category of *kishin* in Japanese secondary sources, such as *shikigami* 式神, the spirit servants of the *onmyōji*, and *gohō* 護法, which represent entities that were dispatched by the Buddha in order to mediate between the *mononoke* or harmful influence and the ritual master.⁷⁰ While *shikigami* and *gohō* represent the benevolent aspect of meta-physical entities, those associated with *mononoke* express the malevolent forces that could not be summoned or controlled by humans. *Kishin* would thus constitute an overarching category. It seems as if the term evolved from its Chinese origins and came to denote lower-ranking deities and a host of ambivalent forces that were distinguished from the higher-ranking deities of the *jingi* cult and could thus include deities of mixed origin.⁷¹ For our purposes it is useful to keep this category and its associations with *mononoke* in mind in order to understand the position associated with the keywords within the belief system.

⁶⁹ <https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&remap=gb&char=%E9%AC%BC%E7%A5%9E>

Accessed: 2018/08/09.

⁷⁰ For more information on these types of entities see Komatsu, *Hyōrei shinkōron*, 234; Borgen, *A Woman's Weapon*, 16; Tubielewicz, *Superstitions, Magic and Mantic Practices in the Heian Period*, 46; and Pang, Carolyn. "Uncovering 'Shikigami': The Search for the Spirit Servant of Onmyōdō". *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 1 (2013): 112.

⁷¹ A more detailed study of the term could provide more insight into what it denoted specifically, but that would lead beyond the scope of this thesis.

3. The microcosm: effects of *mononoke* and *jaki* on the human body and their functions

Mononoke and *jaki* occur mostly in relation to the human body on the level of the individual, as pathogens that disrupt its natural balance. They were applied to situations that defied any categorisation or displayed features that were typically associated with influences relating to *mono*. These would often be cases of prolonged illness, when the usual methods failed to achieve an effect, pregnancies leading up to childbirth, and unusual behaviour.⁷² It is important to note that the keyword that was being used to refer to an illness, the cause of which was unclear, should be distinguished from the entity, perhaps in the form of an evil spirit, that was assigned to it later based on divinations, *kaji*, or the effects of a ritual. The entity assigned to the underlying cause was taken from a range of possible meanings, signified by the keywords, and was thus brought into the realm of what could be named and understood. At this point, more specific concepts were applied that at times reflected socio-political relations and rivalries.⁷³ *Jaki*, however, with its broader range of application, could also serve to predicate the presence of *tatari* by mirroring the disruption of the natural balance on a larger scale within the human body. Such disruptions were usually related to neglected deities that had not been worshipped properly and targeted either the person

⁷² Ueno provides a detailed list of symptoms related to *mononoke* and *jaki* based on his research in the *kanbun* diaries. See *Yume to Mononoke no Seishinshi*, 125-127.

⁷³ In a way this is reminiscent of the Confucian principle of the “rectification of names” 正名 (Ch. *cheng ming*, J. *seimei*), based upon which language was supposed to reflect the nature of things and the act of naming something established its social function. If the things of the world corresponded with their names and conformed to truth, then the matters of the state would prosper, and the order of the world could be constructed; Graham, A. C. *Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical Argument in Ancient China*. La Salle: Open Court, 1989, 23-25; Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 312-313. Abé argues that *cheng ming* was a fundamental aspect of constructing the position of the emperor within the *ritsuryō* state and that the use of language was thought to have a direct impact upon statecraft at the early Heian court. However, evil influences represented the antithesis to the Confucian order and had to be converted through ritual into benevolent entities (321, 340). While he suggests that naming the evil spirit would lead to chaos, I maintain that for the Heian period the act of identifying or naming the category, whether *mono* or *kami*, was the only means that would lead to the appropriate ritual response that could either expel or transform the malevolent influence.

responsible for unbalanced relations or the *tennō* as the representative of the populace. These aspects seem to constitute the two main instances that relate to the appearance of the terms *mononoke* and *jaki*.

3.1 *Mononoke*

Mononoke was much more restricted in use and detailed examples in which the situation is explained properly are rare. For our purposes it should perhaps be understood as a conceptual term that can aid our perception of events rather than a defined entity. The term appears primarily in the context of illness, most often the illnesses of members of the imperial house, whether the emperor himself, his consorts, or the imperial princes and princesses, although there are also a few other examples. In addition, it also appears within the context of childbirth and labour, usually of the empresses, and in the events leading up to childbirth. We should keep in mind that child mortality during birth was very high, as was the risk for their mothers, the reasons for which would not have been obvious to the people at the time. It is also interesting to note that most cases of *mononoke* appear in the twelfth century and that the association with the illnesses of empresses and childbirth is strongest there, especially towards the end of the Heian period. This would imply that there was a stronger connection between the concept of *mononoke* and women, which seems to be corroborated by the fact that this is the term that appears predominantly in *kana* literature and memoirs.

In many cases, the appearance of *mononoke* was such an accepted procedure that the circumstances were not discussed in much detail and it is simply described as being transferred. On the twenty-second day of the eighth month in 1101, the empress consort to Horikawa Tennō 堀川天皇 (1079-1107), presumably imperial princess Tokushi 篤子内親王 (1060-1114), had been very

unwell for a couple of days and the Tendai Zasu Ninkaku 仁覚 (1045-1102) came to tend to her. *Kaji* monks were summoned and the *mononoke* was transferred (*watasu* 渡), which means that it was expelled from the body of the patient and moved into the body of a medium (*yorimashi* 憑坐).⁷⁴ The entry mentions nothing further, demonstrating that *mononoke* was an accepted cause for an illness. It does not mention any other rituals, which suggests that this particular incident was of little significance and quickly resolved.

Mononoke usually manifested itself in physical symptoms that indicated a disruption of the balance within the body, which in turn was caused by the presence of this influence.⁷⁵ When the newly born crown prince Kimihito 君仁親王 (1125-1143), Toba's third son, became ill and refused to "drink his milk", a variety of prayers and rituals were conducted. Due to the failure of other countermeasures, when *kaji* was performed successfully the cause could be assigned in retrospect based on ritual efficacy. *Mononoke* again serves as a simple explanation that was generally accepted by those in attendance. The term could also appear alongside other meta-physical entities that would be categorised as deities, as in the case of Emperor Go-Ichijō's 後一条天皇 (1008-1036) illness, so that it was difficult to determine the appropriate countermeasures. These would usually be of a general nature until the cause could be ascertained with some certainty. Nevertheless, even though *mononoke* appears together with deities in this example, the two groups were still separated syntactically through "and/together with" (并). Very often other strange occurrences associated with

⁷⁴ *Denryaku*, vol. 1, 66: 中宮頗六供氣御坎、山座主(仁覚)參給、日來聞頗有、雖然此一兩日召加持僧、被渡御物氣云々。

⁷⁵ For a full list and categorisation of symptoms that were associated with *mononoke*, see Ueno, *Yume to mononoke no seishinshi*, 124-141.

mokke and *tatari* formed the backdrop to such illnesses caused by either *mononoke* or *jaki* and lent the situation an even more serious quality.⁷⁶

If *ki* can be related to the notion of *tatari* in certain cases,⁷⁷ then it would also be worth examining the expression *mono no tatari*. Although there are not many examples, one instance can be found in Murakami Tennō's diary and two in the *Shōyūki*. On the twenty-third day of the seventh month, 961, sutra recitations were being performed by a monk affiliated with Tōdaiji in order to pray for more rain. Fujiwara no Fuminori's 藤原文範 (909-996) report stated that the difficult weather was due to *mono no tatari*.⁷⁸ Here the term seems to refer to an actual *tatari* rather than what is expressed by *mononoke*. In an example from 1027, Minamoto no Toshikata 源俊賢 (960-1027) had been affected by Dokujin's⁷⁹ *tatari*, which had caused tumours on his legs. He was also suffering from various other illnesses, such as dysentery and *mono no tatari*, which were constraining his body.⁸⁰ *Mono no tatari* seems to refer to a variety of evil influences that were affecting him and Toshikata died on the fourteenth day of the same month. In the seventh month of the following year, the *kanpaku*, Fujiwara no Yorimichi, was ill and the entry states that it resembled *mono no tatari* and those reporting

⁷⁶ See Appendix 5, ex. 8.

⁷⁷ This is based on Shigeta's definition of the terms.

⁷⁸ 令文範朝臣仰右大将藤原朝臣云、淫霖難晴矣、有物祟乎。"第五記録部84 ページ村上天皇御記", 続々群書類従, JapanKnowledge, <https://japanknowledge-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk> Accessed: 2018/08/14.

⁷⁹ Dokujin is the deity of the earth, also called *tsuchigami*, and a wandering deity with origins in *onmyōdō* thought. It was generally acknowledged that Dokujin resided in the hearth in the spring, at the gates in the summer, in wells in the autumn, and in gardens in the winter, for three months respectively. Wamyō Ruijushō: 春三月在竈夏三月在門秋三月在井冬三月在庭. <https://textdb01.ninjal.ac.jp/dataset/kwrs/txt/kwrs-002.txt> Accessed: 2018/08/14. Along with the deity of the hearth or kitchen god, *kamadogami* 竈神, Shigeta defines these as deities that were close to humans since they spent some or most of their time in the vicinity of or within the houses of the nobility, 53-57. Both of these were household deities with Chinese origins and were related to directional taboos, astral phenomena, and conceptions of ritual purity, which were all issues of primary concern for *onmyōji*. Como, "Onmyōji, the Earth God and Ghosts in Ancient Japan", 49, 57. Mano argues that *kamadogami* was the "Shinto" equivalent of Dokujin (*onmyōdō*). See *Nihon no kamigami wo shiru*, 270-275.

⁸⁰ 種々病〈脚病・痢病・物祟等纏身、〉指合病悩者… *Shōyūki*, vol. 7, 244.

wondered whether it could be *jaki*.⁸¹ These examples seem to indicate that the category of *mono* could appear in relation to *tatari* and that *ki* could embody the function of emitting a force like *tatari*, which seems to be a notion that became more prominent in the eleventh century and supports our revised definition of *mononoke*.

As this discussion has demonstrated, *mononoke* mostly functioned as an explanation for abnormal conditions affecting the human body and was predicated by bodily symptoms. It was not related to a concrete entity, but rather appears in a certain variety of contexts that needed no further explanation and were commonly accepted as valid interpretations. While it was consciously separated from other deified entities, its relation to that other category is not specified, and only the ritual response can shed some light on which entity was being counteracted. The fact that *mononoke* and *jaki* appear to be different may just be due to the comparative rarity of the use of *mononoke*, which is much more restricted in its application to anomalous situations. We must also bear in mind that some authors used the terms synonymously, while others displayed a preference for one or the other, which could be an indication of a greater understanding of the nuances of the different terms. It thus seems appropriate to conceive of *mononoke* in a broad sense in line with the definition suggested earlier, as the *ke*, i.e. *ki*, of a *mono* that has a negative impact on the human body.

3.2 *Jaki*

Jaki displays a wider range of connotations and generally tends to suggest an element of agency that can reveal more about the position of these types of meta-physical entities within the invisible realm. It bears a more direct relation to the

⁸¹ 関白昨夜陪〔部〕悩給、似有物祟、今日宜座、若邪氣歟云々 ... *Shōyūki*, vol. 8, 74.

deities, appears together with terms such as *tatari*, and involves countermeasures that were performed in cases of national importance, such as general amnesties.⁸² When *jaki* appeared by itself as the only meta-physical entity, it was treated in much the same way as *mononoke*.⁸³ There is an interesting example relating to Fujiwara no Michinaga from the late tenth century, in which a prolonged illness in the area of his hips and lower back that was ascribed to *jaki* caused him to consider renouncing his position in order to enter the priesthood. Michinaga takes the presence of *jaki* to be a sign that it is time for him to become a monk as a weak body constitutes an easier target for evil influences. However, taking the advice of the emperor and other ministers, he decided against it. Instead, ordination was bestowed on eighty people as a substitute for, and on behalf of, Michinaga.⁸⁴ The emperor at the time was Ichijō 一条天皇 (980-1011) and Michinaga had been appointed Minister of the Left in 996.

The fact that the ordination of quite a large number of other people, who, it is to be assumed, were lower in status, is equal to the ordination of someone in the position of Michinaga, appears to imply that voicing this intent and not going through with it created a void that needed to be filled. It seems as if in order to prolong his time as a member of worldly society, he needed to fill this void temporarily by providing other ordinands. It is interesting to note here that it took Michinaga a further twenty-two years until he finally became an ordained

⁸² We have already seen some of the functions of *jaki* in relation to the terms *onryō* and *goryō*.

⁸³ Hyōhanki, 1167, seventh month, seventeenth day: a simple example in which the empress is unwell and the *jaki* is simply described as being transferred, implying that it was considered to be a sufficient explanation. Vol. 3, 237.

⁸⁴ 問御悩体、示云、腰病、邪氣所為也云々…相府御消息云、可遂出家之由可奏者…功德無極、依成妨礙可畏罪報、然而病體邪氣所為云々、道心堅固必可遂志者、病惱除愈心閑入道如何、罷向彼家可仰此由、又為除病延命欲給度者…然而殊有思食、欲給八十人… *Gonki*, 998, third month, third day, 26. The *Nihon Kiryaku*, KT, vol. 11, 1035, summarises the event in the following way: The Minister of the Left was ill and there was a report on whether he could become a monk. However, the emperor did not allow it. 左大臣病重。可出家之由被奏之。勅不許之。給度者八十人。

monk and retired from worldly affairs.⁸⁵ Precedents can be found for mass ordinations in times of illness in the *Nihon shoki*,⁸⁶ which display a reliance on the efficacy of Buddhism as a means to avert illnesses and other misfortunes. The use of these human resources provided greater numbers of monks who could perform sutra recitations and other rituals in order to ensure the protection of the state and its highest-ranking representatives.

The functions that characterise *jaki* as a meta-physical entity are the indication of an underlying cause related to a deity that was perceived to be higher in status and its ability to mediate between the visible and invisible realms, which relates it to the macrocosm. We have already seen how *jaki* could be associated with the deity of epidemics as an aspect that differentiates the term from *onryō*. When Emperor Horikawa was suffering from a cold in 1107, a divination was performed that revealed the *jaki* of Dokujin, i.e the evil *ki* that Dokujin was discharging, or which could also be read as Dokujin and *jaki* as two separate entities.⁸⁷ Since *jaki* is not related to a specific entity here it could be assumed that it refers to the evil influence that was being emitted by Dokujin and causing the illness. If this particular deity was disturbed in the place it was thought to inhabit at that time, misfortune and *tatari* would ensue. This act of violation was referred to as *tsuchi* 犯土, which denoted the periods in which

⁸⁵ The year 998 is characterised by an epidemic in the sixth and seventh months that apparently had particularly severe consequences for the higher-ranking court nobles. This would have also had profound implications on the worldview of these courtiers and their perception of events. *Fusō Ryakki*, 262: It is noted that many people in the capital died while the lower-ranking people and those in the provinces did not. The name of the era was changed for the following year because of the severity of the epidemic.

Michinaga was generally prone to illness and some modern sources suggest that based on his symptoms he was probably suffering from diabetes mellitus, which apparently ran in the family. See Tatsukawa Shōji. "Diseases of Antiquity in Japan". *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, edited by Kenneth F Kiple. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. 373–375; and Hurst, G. Cameron. "Michinaga's Maladies: A Medical Report on Fujiwara no Michinaga". *Monumenta Nipponica* 34.1 (1979), 103-104.

⁸⁶ See Kleine, "Buddhist Monks as Healers", 19-20. He includes a couple of examples that clearly display mass ordination as a valid procedure in combatting illness.

⁸⁷ Fifth month, twenty-fifth day: 於院行御卜、土公御邪氣等云々、其由還參奏事由 Denryaku, Vol. 2, 195.

Dokujin was thought to reside in the main hall or in the earth. At such times, no holes or wells could be dug, or construction work undertaken. Anything that disturbed the earth was strictly prohibited and this taboo was not restricted to Dokujin.⁸⁸

The *Chōyagunsai* contains a report on *tsuchi* by Kamo no Yasunori (917-977), which was written in 974 and cites two *Onmyōdō* texts of Chinese origin, namely the *Onmyō-sho* 陰陽書 [Book of Yin and Yang] and the *Honmyō-hō* 本命法 [Method of the stems and branches of one's birth year]. In this report it is referred to as *tsuchi no ki* 土氣, which could be another name for Dokujin's *tatari* according to Shigeta,⁸⁹ although Daishōgun 大將軍 and Ōsō 王相 are also mentioned specifically.⁹⁰ The two sources differ with respect to the details, but they agree on the general idea that if the earth was “violated” within a certain perimeter there would certainly be misfortune and illness. Dokujin would not harm those outside of this perimeter. Furthermore, the violation depended on the depth of the hole. There would only be consequences if it was deeper than three *shaku* (approx. 90cm).⁹¹ In the example from the *Denryaku*, it is thus implied that such a violation had taken place, which was mirrored in the *tennō*'s body in the form of illness caused by *jaki* as a means to draw attention to the deity. This mode of interpretation functions in a similar way to the one encountered earlier in the context of Sanjō Tennō's eye condition in 1015, when it was revealed that Shōten had caused *jaki* because the worship of the deity had been neglected. The illness caused by *jaki* becomes an indicator that there were underlying problems due to

⁸⁸ Frank discusses the taboos associated with some of the more prominent *Onmyōdō* deities, 58. See also Zhang for a detailed description of the introduction of beliefs concerning Dokujin to Japan and their subsequent development, 287-303.

⁸⁹ Shigeta, *Heian kizoku to onmyōji*, 57.

⁹⁰ For more details on these deities see Frank, *Kata-imī et Kata-tagae*, 51-61, 165-176 (Daishōgun), and 202-230 (Ōsō).

⁹¹ *Kokushi Taikei*, vol. 29.1, 366-367. ...土氣去宅卅五步。各為一區。過之外。土氣不害人。堀地起土。深過三尺為害。不滿三尺無害。...

human failings. It introduces an aspect of appropriate behaviour towards the deities and by extension the invisible world, which was tied into the discourse of anomalies caused by meta-physical entities.

This aspect of appropriate behaviour was also reflected in the moral discourse of proper human conduct towards other people. It is a feature that appears to be particularly prominent in relation to the Fujiwara clan and their rise to power, which involved numerous political victims and the criticism of others. Michinaga's illnesses, in particular, take on political dimensions in this light and the following example is of interest since it involves an opponent who was still alive at the time. During the reign of Ichijō Tennō in 1000, a message was relayed through Michinaga's weakened body, which referred to the demotion of Fujiwara no Korechika 藤原伊周 (974-1010). The information that the message relates to Fujiwara no Korechika is supplied in a modern-day translation of the *Gonki*.⁹² Korechika was Michinaga's nephew, but that did not stop Michinaga on his path to power, which effectively led to Korechika's exile to Kyūshū in 996 after an incident involving Kazan Tennō 花山天皇 (968-1008).⁹³

The illness signified the presence of a meta-physical entity, in this case *jaki*, which presumably spoke either through Michinaga's or a medium's mouth and revealed an underlying state of imbalanced relations due to Michinaga's actions. This case presents an interesting example regarding the question of agency. Since the delivered message refers to Korechika in the third person, it seems unlikely that *jaki* should be interpreted as his living spirit. It is not clear who speaks the

⁹² Kuramoto Kazuhiro. *Fujiwara no Yukinari "Gonki": Zengendaigoyaku*. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2011-2012, 362-364.

⁹³ Korechika was made Naidaijin 内大臣 at the age of twenty-one and was the court's favoured option for the position of Kanpaku. However, the Dowager Empress did not like him and wanted her brother Michinaga to succeed, which led to various intrigues. The incident involving the emperor was interpreted as attempted murder, upon which he was exiled to Daizaifu. Michinaga consolidated his position at court and his daughter became a prospective consort of the emperor. For more information see Sansom, 160-161.

words of the *jaki*, which would have reflected either the medium's opinion in response to the audience or Michinaga's guilty conscience, but it seems reasonable to infer that this speech was associated with the *jaki*. It may be the case that *jaki* represented a third instance that spoke on behalf of Korechika and thus mediated between the two parties. Nevertheless, it is obvious, based on these examples, that it was of utmost importance to maintain harmonious relations both within the human realm and with the invisible entities located outside of it. Korechika's spirit continued to cause illnesses even after his death, which attests to the fact that the general opinion of the populace condemned the way in which he had been treated and there was an awareness of a fault on the part of the nobility.⁹⁴

A number of examples can be found in which *jaki* appears together with *tatari*, which further adds to its significance as a marker. It thus becomes an intermediary entity. *Jaki* could occur at the same time as an epidemic and have an effect on the body, although, as we have seen, rituals to counteract *jaki* could not be performed in such circumstances. Epidemics were usually thought to be caused by *tatari* that was sent by the deities and *jaki* was thought to increase the effect of *tatari* in these situations. This was the case in 1015, when the Empress Dowager, Fujiwara no Nobuko 藤原順子 (957-1017; also, Fujiwara no Junshi), consort to Enyū 円融天皇, was ill. The entry states that a divination was performed, which revealed that in addition to the *ki* of an epidemic *jaki* was increasing the *tatari*.⁹⁵ In this case *jaki* is clearly distinguished from the cause of the epidemic, which substantiates the claim that at least two categories should be postulated

⁹⁴ See, for example, *Shōyūki*, 1015, twelfth month, thirteenth day, vol. 4, 107: 左將軍猶有悩煩、靈氣移人被調伏、故帥(藤原伊周)靈顯露…

⁹⁵ *Shōyūki*, 1015, seventh month, twenty-third day, vol. 4, 61: 仍令占之、疫氣之上、御邪氣加祟所奉致云々… Although this illness is not mentioned anywhere else, epidemics as well as general amnesties are repeatedly recorded for the preceding months in the *Nihon kiryaku*, 1098-1099.

for the invisible realm and that they were classified according to status. It also highlights the fact that these entities were not mutually exclusive.

The complexities of the interactions between various types of meta-physical entities and how they served to explain calamitous events can be further illustrated by an example from the *Shunki*.⁹⁶ 1040 proved to be a particularly difficult year for Emperor Go-Suzaku 後朱雀天皇 (1009-1045), as various natural disasters destroyed important buildings associated with imperial rule, namely the outer shrine of Ise and a palace building, and interrupted important ritual procedures, while he was also suffering from poor health. A divination performed by the Onmyōryō revealed that his illness was due to a *tatari* in the south-eastern direction, which would include the Ise shrines. It seems reasonable to infer from this situation that the *tatari* was caused by the Ise deities since they had not received their annual offerings. Their displeasure was thus reflected in the emperor's body in the form of an illness, which prompted further investigation. The illness itself is later referred to as *jaki*, which was seen to be adding to the effects of *tatari*.⁹⁷ It thus follows that *jaki* caused the illness and acted as an intermediary to call attention to the presence of *tatari* and the underlying wrath of the Ise deities. By now it should have become clear that far from simply denoting evil spirits, *jaki* as one of the constituents of the category of *mono*, was part of a complex epistemic web that provided explanations for anomalous events and the individual aspects such events were composed of. It presented a vital link that helped to structure the relations with the invisible world.

In contrast to *mononoke*, *jaki* displays a more direct link with the sphere of the deities and could indicate an underlying problem, which would be mirrored by an illness that usually affected the emperor's body as the representative of the

⁹⁶ This is the diary of Fujiwara no Sukefusa 藤原資房 (1007-1057), who was the brother of the Dainagon Sukehira 藤原資平 (986-1068).

⁹⁷ See Appenidx 5, ex. 11.

state. This in itself becomes a mode of communication with the invisible world. When the appearance of *jaki* in the form of illness signalled an underlying cause, it was mostly related to the neglect of certain deities or improper behaviour and thus served to convey a message. It was either transmitted through the mouth of the patient or the medium, which provided room for manipulation, but the identity of the entity thought to be presenting the message was not necessarily revealed. It should also have become clear that a simple association of these terms to the notion of evil spirits disregards many other aspects, which have emerged from the primary sources and characterise these concepts.

The way in which these terms were applied can perhaps be encapsulated within the idea of primary signification and secondary association, which is when a specific entity was assigned to the harmful influence. In line with the conception of these types of beliefs as floating signifiers, they should be perceived as shifting clouds of meaning that could take on any shape,⁹⁸ specifically in relation to evil influences, depending on the situation. They were referred to by these catch-all terms that took on a specific identity, either through divination, *kaji*, which provided the entity with an opportunity to identify the cause, or ritual efficacy. When these entities conveyed information on a specific situation, they functioned as markers and intermediaries that were needed to enable communication between different realms, which is an issue that will be addressed in the following chapters.

We must remember that these features were not something that people were consciously aware of at the time and we cannot expect a fully developed system that made sense in all respects. However, it appears that certain interpretative tendencies do emerge from these examples, which relates directly to the episteme as the unifying centre of the Heian-period worldview. These

⁹⁸ Breen, John and Teeuwen, Mark, *A Social History of the Ise Shrines: Divine Capital*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017, 18.

beliefs most likely constituted a repertoire that people could draw on and some of them may have imagined these entities as spirits. For us, rather than trying to reconstruct how these entities were represented in people's imaginations, it is important to consider what they signified and how they contributed to epistemological processes that explained the world by assigning meaning to certain events in a specific way. These reflections are thus valuable as they can shed more light on the belief system, where the boundaries lay, and which beliefs were separated from others.

3.3 Meta-physical beliefs as organising principles and regulators of human conduct

The examples that apply the concepts of *mononoke* and *jaki* to illnesses and unusual behaviour in the *kanbun* diaries predominantly occur within a time frame that spans the ninth to twelfth centuries. This coincides with the rise to power of the Fujiwara clan, encompasses the height of their dominance of court politics, and their subsequent decline, which could indicate a correlation. Despite the political upheavals that accompanied the last century of the Heian period, these concepts persisted as commonly accepted explanations.⁹⁹ However, it is interesting to note that these terms do not appear quite as frequently in other types of historical documents. They appear only once respectively in the Six National Histories, and they are also rare in Heian-period histories.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, when they were applied to certain situations, they tended to

⁹⁹ For an overview of the occurrence of the keywords, please consult the tables in appendix 1.

¹⁰⁰ The *Shiryō Hensanjo* database of the *Heian ibun* includes the *Kokushi taiki*, but only one example can be verified for *jaki* and none for *mononoke* that is relevant for this time period. A couple of examples of *mononoke* can be found in the *Gunsho ruijū*, which contains a far greater number of entries for *jaki*. Furthermore, the corpus of Buddhist texts received from China that are compiled in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* display a number of occurrences of the term *jaki*, which thus receives Buddhist connotations.

deviate slightly from the stylised representations found in the diaries and can thus shed more light on the way in which these concepts were perceived.

The term *jaki* also frequently occurred in medical and ritual texts that related to the customs throughout the year, which provided details on how to avoid and get rid of *jaki*, as well as its relation to notions of chaos that opposed the overall harmony. In the *Chōyagunsai* within the collection of *saimon*, *jaki* appears in a ritual text addressed to the earthly deities, which was written by Fujiwara no Tadazane 藤原忠実 (1078-1162) in 1117, who was Kanpaku at the time. *Jaki* is tied into a discussion of correct moral behaviour because of the epidemics that had been spreading. Indeed, the *Teiō hennenki*¹⁰¹ tells us that the name of the era was changed the following year because of ominous signs in the sky and epidemics.¹⁰²

After addressing a great variety of deities, the spread of epidemics is interpreted as a statement from all *kishin*, which refers to deities and ambivalent entities. Human errors, the breaking of taboos, and a lack of sincerity in the performance of rituals are provided as the reasons for the occurrence of strange signs *yōkai* 妖怪 (mysterious apparitions) and calamities. Only through proper worship of the Buddhist deities and the *kami* can hardships such as bad dreams and *mokke*, *jaki* and evil spirits, wars and illnesses be avoided. This passage reveals that anomalous events that relate to the keywords, such as *jaki* and *mokke*, were due to inappropriate or inattentive human conduct, both in social and political terms, as well as their relation to the deities and the Buddhist *dharma*. Inattention in the form of neglecting the proper maintenance of ritual institutions or insufficient ritual attention thus opens up further possibilities for

¹⁰¹ This document presents a compilation of earlier historical sources that was written in the late fourteenth century, which covers the line of rulers from the beginnings in the age of gods up until the late Kamakura period.

¹⁰² *Kokushi taikei*, vol. 12, 308. See Appendix 5, ex. 12.

manipulation. Cunning officials could purposefully refer to such sites as the cause of *tatari* in order to gain more attention from the centre.

The *Kitano Tenjin engi* contains a mournful and dramatic account of the death of Fujiwara no Tokihira 藤原時平 (b. 871) in 909, which also relates to moral aspects of human behaviour and the political intrigues at court. In this case *mononoke* occurs in relation to an evil spirit (*onryō*), which is identified as the spirit of Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真 (*Kan Shōjō*, 845-903),¹⁰³ whom Tokihira had accused of plotting against Daigo Tennō 醍醐天皇 (885-930) and who was subsequently exiled to Dazaifu. The appearance of *mononoke* that caused Tokihira's illness was interpreted as an expression of Michizane's resentment due to his demotion at the hands of the Fujiwara official.¹⁰⁴ The account further states that Tokihira's promotion, who had been in an inferior position, was not pursued in a coercive manner.

These events are depicted as having occurred prior to Michizane's downfall but were nevertheless understood as having incurred the scholar's resentment, which was evaluated as a misrepresentation of events.¹⁰⁵ Whether this constituted an attempt to convince the audience and readers that Tokihira was not to blame for Michizane's demotion, or whether this represented the author's opinion, is not clear. It does, however, demonstrate the significance of political events for the interpretation of calamities and illnesses, and how the repercussions of one's actions would have a long-lasting effect. This, in turn, substantiates the significance of beliefs in *mononoke* and *jaki* within the moral discourse as an indirect means of criticism that was representative of an

¹⁰³ For more information on Sugawara no Michizane see Borgen, Robert. *Sugawara No Michizane and the Early Heian Court*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994.

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix 5, ex. 13.

¹⁰⁵ 有上左大臣詔勅前。以下時平摂政無奪事。然而催何恨歟。致無実讒奏。JapanKnowledge, <https://japanknowledge-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk>, Accessed: 2018/08/16

awareness of wrongdoing. It is also interesting to note that the *Fusō ryakki* records a severe epidemic throughout the spring and the summer.¹⁰⁶

A further aspect that relates to the concepts of *mononoke* and *jaki* is the idea of ritual pollution and ritual abstinence, which we will encounter again in relation to the other two keywords. Examples can be found for both terms, in which the appearance of an evil influence seems to induce *mono imi* 物忌 (specified days of ritual abstinence) for the following days. On such days, certain foods, such as meat, and drinks had to be avoided, as well as any activities that would risk ritual pollution (*kegare*). The main goal was to cleanse the body of impurities so that the pollution would not be carried over to the deities or contaminate their offerings.¹⁰⁷ This indicates that *mononoke* and *jaki* were polluting influences, which is implied by the latter term itself and again differentiates them as a category from the deities. In one of the first examples cited from the *Shōyūki* (1015, sixth month, nineteenth day), when the emperor was unwell, *mono imi* was caused by the *tatari* of Ekiki as well as *jaki*.¹⁰⁸ In 1020, when Michinaga was about to take the tonsure, but had to postpone his ordination because of an illness, identified as *mononoke*, it was reported that there would be *mono imi* for two days.¹⁰⁹

Mary Douglas uses the concept of dirt to develop her analysis of pollution as an element that organises human experience by demarcating and punishing transgressions. Dirt essentially embodies disorder and anything that is out of place or should be avoided, just like pollution. When this definition is broadened, dirt can also be taken to refer to anomalies, which constitute elements that do not “fit a given set or series”.¹¹⁰ According to Douglas, the existence of these notions

¹⁰⁶ Vol. 12, 178.

¹⁰⁷ Morohashi, *Dai kanwa jiten*, vol. 7, 636.

¹⁰⁸ 明日・明々物忌也 vol. 4, 41.

¹⁰⁹ *Sakeiki*, 1020, ninth month, twenty-eighth day: 依物氣申、自明日二箇日堅固御物忌也, 103.

¹¹⁰ Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 38.

implies an effort to impose a system on everyday experience and consciously organise the environment, which presents a precondition for an awareness of actions that contravene that order.¹¹¹

As we have seen in the case of *mononoke* and *jaki*, the application of these terms to a particular situation often implied that the moral standards had not been upheld and that careless human actions had brought about the misfortunes that befell them. *Mononoke* and *jaki* were manifestations of anomalies that contradicted the system of order, which was produced by social institutions, and had to be eliminated. The institutions could be seen to encompass various schools of thought that were competing for recognition from the court, physical institutions, such as shrines and temples, or certain groups such as high-ranking courtiers or the imperial family whose actions expressed specific intentions. As Douglas aptly remarks, “the laws of nature are dragged in to sanction the moral code.”¹¹² Moral values and certain social rules were defined by the occurrence of such calamitous events that were related to meta-physical entities in our case. It is thus important to recognise that these types of beliefs not only served as explanations but also as a mechanism that regulated human behaviour and condemned certain types of action.

The way in which these sanctions functioned were a product of the times, the dominant institutions, and the beliefs held by those in power, which governed the expression of this moral discourse in relation to meta-physical entities. From an emic perspective, it may seem as if illnesses and calamities occurred because of an underlying entity, or the invisible realm in general, that acted as a judge of human conduct. In the context of premodern Japan, this immediately calls to mind King Yama (Enmaten 閻魔天) and the originally Daoist, but in Japan, esoteric

¹¹¹ Ibid.: 1-6, 35-41.

¹¹² Ibid.: 3. Also 91-92. Needham refers to this idea as “the unity of the ethical and cosmic order” in Needham, Joseph. *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956, 526-530.

Buddhist deity, Taizan Fukun 泰山府君. They were associated with the jurisdiction of the world of the dead and involved with record-keeping and the inspection of human conduct.

The beliefs in Taizan Fukun originated in China, where he was worshipped as a deity of the underworld that could prolong life and bestow this-worldly benefits.¹¹³ Enmaten, an originally Indian deity, was imagined to constitute the centre of the underworld as a judge of human sins and the regulator of death. These beliefs merged in China based on Daoist conceptions so that Enmaten came to be regarded as the ruler of the underworld with Taizan Fukun acting as his assistant. This structuring of the realm resulted in a bureaucracy in which each entity occupied a defined position based on a system of ranks.¹¹⁴ This supernatural bureaucracy, as Seidel refers to it, that was in charge of the administration of the netherworld, was adopted by Japan and became a commonly accepted depiction of the underworld. The inspection of human conduct was also a prominent feature and was associated with beliefs in celestial officials and astral deities, since popular Buddhism had absorbed many features of Daoism in China.¹¹⁵

This demonstrates that various mechanisms were in place to regulate human behaviour and the transposition of bureaucratic structures onto the netherworld will be of importance when considering the relations between

¹¹³ In a fascinating study, Elaqua has demonstrated that the Taizan Fukun we encounter in the Heian Japanese sources cannot necessarily be linked directly to the Chinese deity Taishan Fujun, who was associated with the granting of this-worldly benefits, such as the lengthening of one's lifespan and the curing of illness. The name came to be applied to an unrelated deity called Citragupta who appears in earlier Buddhist scriptures beside King Yama (J. Enmaten) as a record-keeper of good and evil human deeds. Due to the appropriation into esoteric Buddhism, these deities merged, and the difficulty now lies in disentangling the strands in order to identify, which deity is being referred to in the sources. See Elaqua, Joseph P. "Citragupta: A Case Study in Esoteric Buddhist Appropriation". *eJECAR* 2 (2015): 1-23.

¹¹⁴ Premoselli, Giorgio. "The Formation of Taizan Fukun as an Onmyōdō Deity". *Bukkyō Daigaku Daigakuin Kiyō: Bungaku Kenkyū Kahan* 42 (2014), 19-20, 24. See also Hayami Tasuku. *Heian kizoku shakai to bukkyō*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983, 234-244.

¹¹⁵ Seidel, "Chronicle of Taoist Studies in the West 1950-1990", 255-257, 302.

different categories of meta-physical entities later in this chapter. As we have seen in relation to the two keywords discussed in this section, a clear distinction was made between those entities that could take action within the body and the deities who used these entities to communicate with the human realm. Similarly, they were also distinguished in terms of ritual responses. They are thus coextensive with the microcosm and I will now consider the ways in which such harmful influences could affect the human body.

3.4 The notion of *ki* within the human body

In order to conclude this section on the microcosm, I would like to consider the conception of the human body and the implications of the effects that the meta-physical entities had on the body as a system of correspondences. Most medical knowledge was obtained from the continent, based on Chinese healing techniques and the information transmitted in the Buddhist scriptures. The texts associated with this tradition came under the control of the Tanba 丹波 and Wake 和気 families, who dominated medical knowledge and maintained secret transmission lineages, while the Buddhist monks were also relied upon for medical treatments.¹¹⁶ The conception of the body based on Chinese medicine was embedded in the notion of systematic correspondences that governed the microcosm and macrocosm as an organic whole.¹¹⁷ These were the correlative thought patterns of the complementary forces of *yin* and *yang* (*onmyō*), and the cyclical principles of the Five Phases (*gogyō*)¹¹⁸, which were responsible for the

¹¹⁶ Drott, Edward R. "Gods, Buddhas, and Organs Buddhist Physicians and Theories of Longevity". *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 37.2 (2010), 252.

¹¹⁷ Despeux, Catherine. *Das Mark des roten Phönix: Unsterblichkeit, Gesundheit und langes Leben in China*. Kulmbach: Mediengrupp Oberfranken, 1995, 27.

¹¹⁸ It is difficult to translate the features associated with these terms accurately as they both constitute a material aspect and a process. See Needham, *The Shorter Science and Civilisation*, vol. 1, 171.

overall harmony within the body. These hermeneutic devices, as Drott refers to them, were used to establish correspondences not only between the heavens, society and the human body, but also within each of these realms themselves based on numerological concord.¹¹⁹

The body was thought to consist of two sets of functional systems, the “Five Viscera” (*gozō* 五臟), which corresponded to the Five Phases and carried yang energy, and the “Six Bowels” (*roppu* 六腑)¹²⁰, which were all connected by twelve channels that transported yin energy in the blood. The monk Eisai 栄西 (1141-1215) established a detailed list of correspondences between the five organs and the Five Phases, as well as many other associated elements, which was further expanded to include aspects of Buddhist cosmology. Each of the five senses was also correlated with one of the five organs so that physiological and psychological functions were interdependent and constituted one entity.¹²¹ Just like the macrocosm was thought to be permeated by the energetic constellation *qi* (J. *ki*), it also constituted the prerequisite for life in general and animated the human body in its various forms. The functional systems were thought to distribute and circulate *qi* within the body through the interconnecting channels and branch channels. The body thus became a vessel for the various animating life forces that was harmonised with the cosmos at large. In the *Zhuangzi* it is stated that a balanced level of *qi* is necessary in the human body to remain healthy, if this balance is disturbed illness ensues:¹²² “Life is due to the collecting of the

¹¹⁹ Ibid.: 254. Henderson, *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology*, 1-5; Sharf, Robert H. *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism: A Reading of the Treasure Store Treatise*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002, 78-79.

¹²⁰ Five Viscera = liver, heart, spleen, lungs, and kidneys; Six Bowels = stomach, large intestine, small intestine, gall bladder, urinary bladder, and the *san chiao* (the Triple Warmer). Sugimoto and Swain, *Science and Culture in Traditional Japan*, 95-96.

¹²¹ See Drott, 262-263 for the list of correspondences.

¹²² Yamauchi, *Mononoke*, 53-56. Classified as a Daoist scripture dating to the fourth or third century BC, the *Zhuangzi* is a collection of stories and anecdotes about the idea of the *dao* as the source of all creation and *qi* as a substance and process that permeates all things and causes them to change (Ommerborn, “Begriffe in der chinesischen Geistesgeschichte: ‘Qi’”, 105; Bartl, Marlies.

breath. When that is collected, there is life; when it is dispersed, there is death.”¹²³ For the proper functioning of the body and the ability to repel illnesses caused by evil influences, the level of *qi* had to be balanced in a harmonious equilibrium. To that end, it was paramount to preserve one’s vital essences and, especially, to maintain and cultivate one’s supply of *qi*, for which specific techniques were developed.¹²⁴

Two further vital forces were required to animate the body, namely *sei* 精, which represents an aspect of *qi* in its most refined form, and *shin* 神 as an active principle that encompasses *qi*. Since *shin* constitutes a force that is unfathomable and yet omnipresent, it is associated with a dynamic force that resembles divine aspects and was related to the deities of the heavens and creation that represent *yang*. As a concept it thus opposes the aspect of those meta-physical entities that were associated with *yin* and were represented by the character *oni/mono* 鬼, which is reminiscent of Zhang Zai’s theories on the cosmos.¹²⁵ Together these two characters constitute the term *kishin*, and it is perhaps no coincidence that this divide between the categories resembles the one that has already been identified for *mono* and *kami*. These correspondences provide the key to understanding the structuring of the invisible realm.

Illnesses ensued when the balance between the functional sets or individual components was disrupted, which perturbed the cyclical functions. This process could be instigated either internally through excess emotion and an

“Zhuangzi 莊子”. *Zeitschrift für Qigong Yangsheng* (2014): 80-82). It was written for those outsiders “who preferred private life to office...” (Graham, *Disputers of the Dao*, 170).

¹²³ Engelhardt, *Die Klassische Tradition der Qi-Übungen*, 10. 人之生，氣之聚也，聚則為生，散則為死。 <https://ctext.org/zhuangzi/knowledge-rambling-in-the-north> Accessed: 2018/04/16.

¹²⁴ This refers to the practice of Qigong, which prescribed breathing methods etc. to absorb the cosmological *qi*. For more information see, for instance, Engelhardt, *Die Klassische Tradition Der Qi-Übungen (Qigong)*; and Hildebrand, Gisela, Geissler, Manfred and Stein, Stephan (eds.). *Das Qi kultivieren – Die Lebenskraft nähren: West-Östliche Perspektiven zu Theorie und Praxis des Qigong un Yangsheng*. Kulmbach: Mediengrupp Oberfranken, 1998.

¹²⁵ Engelhardt, *Die Klassische Tradition Der Qi-Übungen (Qigong)*, 11-12.

unbalanced mental state, or externally through, for instance, the harmful influences that were associated with the keywords under consideration here. They could enter the body through the openings distributed across the body, of which there were thought to be 365, while they also represented points where treatments could be administered in order to regulate the flow of *qi*.¹²⁶ As mentioned earlier, the deterioration of a patient's condition was referred to as "increasing *ki*" and the path to recovery as "decreasing *ki*". It is now obvious that this relates to the *ki* coming from an external source, namely the *ki* of *mono* or *jaki*, which probably caused an over-abundance of *yin qi* associated with *oni/mono* 鬼. This type of *ki* was clearly not compatible with that found within the body and disrupted its functions and reflects the variety of constellations that the concept of *ki* or *qi* represented. While the cause was not necessarily associated with a verifiable physical reason for the illness, the diagnosis was based on the received Chinese tradition, which at the time constituted the accepted body of knowledge of human anatomy, and it is here that physical and meta-physical aspects intersect, or, as discussed earlier, the dimensions of knowledge and belief.¹²⁷

In addition to these forces, Buddhist medical texts promoted the idea that there were a number of spiritual entities that resided in the human body. They were divided into celestial (*kon* 魂) and terrestrial (*haku* 魄) spirits, which is closely connected to the conception of the human soul (*tama* 魂) that was equally

¹²⁶ Sugimoto and Swain, *Science and Culture in Traditional Japan*, 95-97.

¹²⁷ Sugimoto and Swain note: "That the metaphysically oriented pathology made little reference to deities or demons (while exorcism was practised, even among the gentry clientele, its role was minor and not integral to pathology) must be counted an advance for the historical stage concerned," (*Science and Culture in Traditional Japan*, 99). I find this remark highly questionable based on the number of examples discussed here that clearly relate to such entities. Furthermore, the implicit denigration of meta-physical aspects as a hindrance to the development of "true science" fails to acknowledge the ambitions to arrive at an understanding of the world based on the dominant modes of thought in the Heian period.

thought to consist of these two components.¹²⁸ The *yang*-soul or *kon* as a light and expansive force rises to heaven upon death and represents the spiritual aspect, while the *yin*-soul was associated with form and remained on earth by inhabiting the remains. The latter was able to leave the body for short periods of time during states of unconsciousness, such as sleep and dreams, or certain illnesses. It is thus not surprising that this *yin*-aspect came to be associated with notions of evil spirits.¹²⁹ This idea again reflects the basic division between deities in heaven and those other entities that could have a potentially harmful effect on humans, which is projected onto various life-giving functions that relate to the human body and reveals something about the position of humans in relation to other forms. The body constantly finds itself in the balance between negative and positive forces, which were, simultaneously, essential for human life and constituted unity during a person's lifetime. However, this notion equally implies that after death the forces a human being had been composed of existed in a dual state and were separated from each other. This seems to contradict the Buddhist doctrine of non-dualism and displays the merging of different systems of thought, which sought to accommodate each other. Nevertheless, as an underlying mode of interpretation, this way of thinking was essential in order to account for the various misfortunes and illnesses that constitute a regular component of human life. Since we have now gained some insight into the workings of the microcosm and how evil influences were able to disrupt bodily harmony, I would now like to consider the macrocosm in relation to *mokke* and *tatari*.

¹²⁸ Drott, "Gods, Buddhas, and Organs", 259-261.

¹²⁹ Suwa, *Reikon no bunkashi*, 3-9. Scheid, Bernard. "Overcoming Taboos on Death: The Limited Possibilities of Discourse on the Afterlife in Shinto". *Practicing the Afterlife: Perspectives from Japan*, edited by Susanne Formanek and William LaFleur. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004, 205-230. See 213-215. For an in-depth study of the concept of dual souls, see Assandri, Friederike. "Examples of Buddho-Daoist Interaction: Concepts of the Afterlife in Early Medieval Epigraphic Sources". *eJECAR* 1 (2013): 1-38.

4. The macrocosm: effects of *mokke* and *tatari* in nature

As has been indicated previously, one of the main differences between the set of *mononoke* and *jaki* and that of *mokke* and *tatari* is that their functions manifested themselves on different levels. The former occurred within the microcosm of the human body, while the latter appeared mostly in nature, the macrocosm. As we shall see, *tatari* presents an exception as it was also able to traverse these boundaries and cause a variety of misfortunes. It could function as a sign to draw attention to a disruption of the overall equilibrium, whether in the body or in nature. The way in which these two spheres related to each other evokes the systematic correspondences and relations between the micro- and macrocosms developed in China. We have seen that the human body could mirror the disruption of harmony that had occurred on a higher level, and that the emperor's body in particular was correlated with the state and the universe in general. If he was affected, there would be consequences of the highest degree and of national importance. Human behaviour could affect the deities and the invisible realm more generally, but also incur calamities in the visible realm, which illustrates the co-dependent relationship. The different spheres were thus connected and formed a holistic unit.

Derk Bodde, in his attempt to reconstruct the systematic patterns that governed the descriptions of natural phenomena in premodern China, finds that the expressions of these explanations in the ordering of space and time in different schools of thought can be traced to a set of basic principles such as symmetry, centrality and correlativity. In this thesis such basic principles are understood as the modes of interpretation that were generated by the episteme and provided defined patterns of perception and thought. In ancient China, as in Japan, space and time were understood as an indivisible continuum and a complex network of symbolic conditions that were all intimately connected and served to legitimate political procedures and social relations. The forces of *yin*

and *yang* function as the prime example of symmetry as well as their correlates and associated notions. This can also be exemplified by the division of the cosmos into a microcosm, represented by the human body and society, and a macrocosm, which embodied nature and the cosmos.

The idea of centrality is derived from this kind of symmetry, which implies the notion of a medium between two extremes. Centrality is reflected in the concept of the Five Phases, which are arranged in a way that places one unit at the centre of all others. Further numerical correspondences stemmed from these models and can be found in the sexagenary cycle with its twelve stems and ten branches, the months and four seasons, etc., which resulted in very complex systems. Thus, correlative thinking, which implies the creation of chains of ideas and the drawing of analogies, appears to lie at the heart of the Chinese worldview and the ordering of the state, which was then further projected onto Japan. This led to a highly ritualised system of ceremonies that the emperor performed throughout the year to ensure harmony and prevent misfortunes.¹³⁰ Such associations are strongly reminiscent of the situation that presents itself in Japan, where all actions throughout the year were strictly regulated and the state functions become performative.¹³¹

In this way, various realms of reality corresponded systematically, and the universe was thought of as an interconnected harmonious whole.¹³² The basic distinction between the body and humanity (microcosm) and nature and the cosmos as a whole (macrocosm), which is reflected in the split between the four keywords, also had an effect on the social structure. Parallels could be drawn between the family (microcosm) and the state (macrocosm), or the minister (microcosm) and the ruler (macrocosm), and so forth: "Each social entity is

¹³⁰ Bodde, *Chinese Thought, Society and Science*, 11, 99-133.

¹³¹ For more information on this aspect of premodern Japanese ritual see Miller, "Ritsuryō Japan: The State as Liturgical Community".

¹³² Henderson, *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology*, 1. Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism*, 78.

organically related to every other and all cooperate on differing levels to achieve the integrated functioning of the total organism.”¹³³ Aspects of the cosmos were thought to correspond with the state and the imperial bureaucracy, which prescribed the proper relations between things and the ways in which the ruler and the bureaucracy should function. These relationships would manifest themselves in the constellations and patterns in the heavens, which was reproduced in “the structure of the government and the internal structure of the human organism”.¹³⁴ For this reason, the Onmyōryō was an important department, as one of its duties was to keep track of those movements and report to the emperor if there were any strange events or deviations.

The fundamental notion that sustained this type of correlative thought was the idea of cosmological resonance, which represented a mechanism through which various realms of reality or, categorically related, but spatially distant, phenomena could interact. This concept was developed based on acoustic resonances in music: in the *Shiji* 史記 [*Records of the Grand Historian*] it is stated that the pitch pipes will be attuned automatically in times of good government and the resonances harmonise the deities and the people.¹³⁵ The notion of resonance was used to explain the ways in which a condition in one domain of experience could affect another domain, and it was based on the conception of a physical medium that pervaded everything, namely *qi*. These cosmological considerations reveal a further dimension of the concept and it was through *qi* that human events and natural processes were thought to interact.¹³⁶

¹³³ Bodde, *Chinese Thought, Society and Science*, 194.

¹³⁴ Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism*, 79; Grapard, “Religious Practices”, 548.

¹³⁵ Henderson, *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology*, 23. For the reference to the *Shiji* see Annals of the Xia, no. 22 <https://ctext.org/shiji/xia-ben-ji#n4526> Accessed: 2018/08/20.

¹³⁶ This notion originally stems from Dong Zhongshu’s 董仲舒 (179-104 BC) thought, who was a Han dynasty scholar and promoted the use of cosmology as a means to justify Confucian principles of government. He was an expert on the commentary of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and advocated Huang-Lao (the Daoist tradition of the Yellow Emperor and Lao-tzu) techniques as a means to regulate the body according to Confucian principles and thus provide support for the

This notion of cosmic resonance was applied to the relations between humans and deities. If the deities did not receive proper ritual attention, the harmony of the entire system could be disrupted, which will emerge more clearly from the examples to be discussed in this section. As has been demonstrated in the context of *mononoke* and *jaki*, these cosmological notions constituted a moral discourse. Human behaviour was thought to resonate with the cosmic forces and thus was supposed to conform to the will of Heaven. Within this discourse the ruler occupied the pivotal position and was supposed to carry out the ritual acts that would maintain the harmony between heaven and earth. Natural calamities were perceived to be due to the emperor's moral failings, which is a notion that is still evident in Heian Japan, and is reminiscent of the ideal of the sage king, who would be held accountable for his actions and acted as a role model.¹³⁷ Based on this understanding of the relations between the micro- and the macrocosm, I will now examine the terms *mokke* and *tatari* individually.

4.1 *Mokke*

Mokke generally appeared in the form of a natural phenomenon that was considered to be unusual or strange and was interpreted as a sign that served to inform the human realm of potential dangers. Since they functioned as indicators to do with matters in the meta-physical realm, they had to be interpreted accurately so that the appropriate countermeasures could be undertaken. The most common contexts were those involving anomalous situations in nature, and

state. He was the one who to integrate the *yin-yang* and Five Phase correlations that came to define imperial Confucianism. Queen, Sarah A. *From Chronicle to Canon: The Hermeneutics of the Spring and Autumn, According to Tung Chung-Shu*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 3-8, 16-20; Henderson, *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology*, 26-27; Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism*, 84.

¹³⁷ See Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism*, 87-91. See also Ury, Marian. "Chinese Learning and Intellectual Life". *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 2, edited by Donald H. Shively and William H. McCullough. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 355-359.

it is important to note that it never appears in relation to the body. They included the strange behaviour or appearance of animals in certain places, dreams, natural calamities such as earthquakes, typhoons, strange weather in general, or abnormal events in the heavens, noticed either by those specialising in its observation, or, in the case of eclipses and comets, noticeable by everyone. It should be noted that not all earthquakes or other natural events were associated with meta-physical intervention, which makes it difficult to understand the factors that triggered the application of meta-physical agents to certain situations.

The term usually occurs by itself from the mid- to late Heian period, although *mokke* and *tatari* appear to have had a strong connection in earlier sources, which is reflected in the usage of the latter term, as we will see in the next section. My examination of the primary source material has revealed that there were two fundamental modes in which *mokke* could appear. The first is as an omen of events that could occur in the future if appropriate action was not undertaken immediately and it thus functioned as a tool for prognostication. The second marks *mokke* as an indication of a state of imbalance that usually relates to the worship of the deities. They both represented encrypted messages that had to be decoded by means of divination, which could specify the nature of the event, potential consequences, and associated entities. However, very often it is not specified what kind of event the keyword actually referred to. These main types of *mokke* will now be explored in turn.

In some cases, it is possible to infer the nature of the *mokke*, or strange event, from the context that it appears in. In 945, for instance, on the fourth day of the eleventh month, there had been unusual astronomical events, as well as *mokke*, so that a *mishuhō* 御修法 took place at Enryakuji and the Tendai Zasu Gikai

義海 (871-946) and twenty monks performed the Shijōkō ritual 熾盛光法.¹³⁸ The Shijōkō-hō, or literally “the radiance of vivid fire”, was the central Tendai ritual for the protection of the state.¹³⁹ Shijōkō Nyorai actually presented a deification of “one of the several personified emanations that sprang from the cranial protuberance of the Buddha” and seems to have close ties with Shōrenin 青蓮院 in Kyoto.¹⁴⁰ The ritual was first introduced and performed by Ennin 円仁 in 850 on Mt. Hiei. Its purpose was to avert calamities and epidemics or subdue their effects, protect the country, and maintain the emperor’s rule by suppressing enemy aggression from outside, which constituted the ritual’s main function. Judging by the ritual response, the occurrence of these events was understood as an omen. *Mokke* was taken as a sign of impending disaster and suggests that there were suspicions that the natural order had been disrupted and the safety of the state and the imperial family were threatened. Thus, a preventative ritual was performed, which relied on the benevolence of the Buddhist deities to protect the people.

Since the macrocosm of the observable patterns in nature was linked to the microcosm of humanity, it was implied that the former would have a direct impact on the social and political relations of the latter. A proper reading of such omens was necessary in order to understand what the future might hold, which resulted in a proactive stance. Pankenier refers to this method of encountering natural phenomena that did not conform to expectation as “omenology” for the premodern Chinese period. It was thought that Heaven and the spirits would

¹³⁸ *Teishinkōki*, the diary of Fujiwara no Tadahira 藤原忠平 (880-949), a high-ranking courtier who eventually became kanpaku, 222: 御修法於台山修之、座主（義海）為阿闍梨、件僧廿人、熾盛光法也、依天変・物怪所行也。

¹³⁹ In contrast, the Daigensui-hō 大元帥法 was the main Shingon ritual for the protection of the state. Grapard, “Religious Practices”, 539-541; “The Economics of Ritual Power”, 80.

¹⁴⁰ Grapard, “Religious Practices”, 539. For more information see 539-541.
<http://www.shorenin.com/english/principal/> Accessed: 2018/08/20

punish humans directly, which is an idea that is present in various Chinese philosophical schools, such as in Mozi's 墨子 (c. 470-391 BC) work. Especially during the Han dynasty various strands of thought merged, which is exemplified by the *Huainanzi* 淮南子,¹⁴¹ before it was developed into a fully-fledged system of omens by Dong Zhongshu. He employed analogical reasoning in order to argue that Heaven sent down disasters to warn the emperor and prompt him to take action. His explanation of omens suggested that improper human conduct would affect the cosmic balance of *yin* and *yang* and thus produce signs in nature.¹⁴² As we will see in the examples relating to *mokke* and *tatari*, these notions of the workings of the cosmos were also prominent in Heian Japan and represent a vital aspect associated with the beliefs in meta-physical entities.

There are many examples in which the unusual appearance or strange behaviour of animals in certain places was associated with the term *mokke*, as in the example relating to the strange appearance of ducks at Usa shrine. Divinations had to be performed by the state departments, which demonstrates the degree of importance ascribed to such events. These animals were considered to be harbingers of disasters to come and thus presented encoded messages. In the *Shōyūki* there are two separate occasions of a bird entering the building of the external secretary (*geki* 外記) in 999 and 1015, which is referred to as *mokke* and prompts a divination.¹⁴³ In the latter example, the divination was performed by

¹⁴¹ Written sometime around 139 BC, the work addresses a variety of topics that related to the principal concerns of the rulers at the time. See Major, John S. *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought: Chapters Three, Four and Five of the Huainanzi*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993, 2-3.

¹⁴² Pankenier, David W. "The Origins, Use, and Abuse of Omenology in Early China". *Journal of Political Criticism* 21 (2017), 147-152; Queen, *From Chronicle to Canon*, 27, 217-224.

¹⁴³ 999, eighth month, twenty-ninth day: 召使建部信兼〔云〕外記局物怪占方進之、〈去廿七日鳥怪、〉 Vol. 2, 59.

Abe no Yoshihira 安倍吉平 (954-1027), who was Seimei's son, and suggested the possibility of illness occurring within a specific timeframe.¹⁴⁴

Depending on where these signs appeared and how they manifested themselves, they could either be targeting the person observing the phenomenon or a larger group of people. In the *Gonki* in 1000, when a rat nibbling at a building was taken to be an omen for a potential illness of the mouth and tongue, the incident appears to relate to the observer of the phenomenon as a specific target.¹⁴⁵ The fact that illnesses could be predicted in this way based on the appearance of signs, indicates a form of meta-physical agency that presided over the distribution of punishments. In China this would have probably been ascribed to the impersonal entity of Heaven, but in premodern Japan the relation between the agent and the effects in the human realm is less clear. Another form in which *mokke* appeared in relation to individuals was as an ominous dream that required action on the part of the person who experienced it. While *mokke* did not have a negative impact on the body, such dreams could function as a warning due to improper behaviour or the neglect of ritual duties, as in the case of Sanesuke in 989.¹⁴⁶ In all of these examples of prognostication, *mokke* is differentiated clearly from the concept associated with *mononoke* and functions as an intermediary entity between the meta-physical and the human realms that signified potential repercussions.

The second type of *mokke* is represented by the idea that the disruption had already occurred with physical consequences and/or required ritual pacification of the deities. When *mokke* appeared at the palace in 946, the

¹⁴⁴ 1015, ninth month, sixteenth day: 今日召使持来占方、昨巳時外記物怪、鳥入庁内、大臣以下中納言已… 推之、怪所已・亥年人有病事欤、朝今日以後卅五日内、及明年五・六・七月節中戊・己日也、(主計頭安倍吉平) Vol. 4, 74-75.

¹⁴⁵ 1000, eighth month, nineteenth day: 早朝於宿所、見付鼠喰宿物柩、(卯時)即遣問安四位許、々々推云、口舌病事云々, 179.

¹⁴⁶ See Appendix 5, ex. 14.

imperial priestess at Ise performed a divination, which determined that offerings should be made to Ise and various other shrines.¹⁴⁷ It is not clear what kind of event was identified as *mokke*, but it seems reasonable to conclude that there was a perceived disruption of the cosmic balance since the incident is directly related to the deities and its appearance prompted a ritualised response. In a similar vein, earthquakes were often related to *mokke*, which clearly demonstrates the term's function not as a tool for prognostication, but as a warning in the sense of acute danger. The disaster could not be averted anymore as it had already taken place and the only means of rectifying the situation consisted in the placation of the meta-physical agent.

Murakami Tennō (926-967) records in his diary that he commanded the monk Kanjō 寛静 (901-979, Shingon) to conduct the ritual of the *Kujaku Sutra*¹⁴⁸ at the Jijūden, which was the central pavilion of the palace. It was performed by twenty monks for seven days because there had been ominous earthquakes (or, alternatively, *mokke* and earthquakes).¹⁴⁹ Similarly, the *Chūyūki* includes an entry on a large earthquake in 1095 that had occurred near the palace. A divination was requested in order to determine whether the incident should be interpreted as an equally significant *mokke*,¹⁵⁰ which lends a definite meta-physical quality to the event. This event is perhaps further exacerbated by the fact that a few days earlier a tree at the Jingikan had been damaged, which warranted a *konrō no miura* 幹廊御卜, a divination only performed in situations of national importance

¹⁴⁷ 946, sixth month, second day: 定齋王之狀、並依宮中物恠、奉遣御幣使伊勢并諸社, 231.

¹⁴⁸ The *Peacock Sutra* was thought to remove all fears and natural disasters by using mystic spells and *dhāraṇī*. For more information see [http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?5b.xml+id\(%27b5b54-96c0-660e-738b-7d93%27\)](http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?5b.xml+id(%27b5b54-96c0-660e-738b-7d93%27)) Accessed: 2018/08/21.

¹⁴⁹ *Sandai Gyoki*, 967, fifth month, second day: 於仁壽殿。令律師寛静修孔雀經法。限七ヶ日。番僧廿口。並依物恠地震也。延喜天曆御記抄 196. The ritual response was apparently determined by consulting the extracts from the records of the Engi (901-923) and Tenryaku (947-957) eras. The *Nihon kiriyaku* is the only other record that mentions sutra recitations for that day, *Kokushi taikei*, vol. 10, 913.

¹⁵⁰ 1095, eighth month, tenth day: 奏聞件解狀并御卜事、主上御中宮御方間有大地震、其大物恠歟 vol. 2, 245. Strangely, this matter is not mentioned in any other source.

in the corridor of the palace.¹⁵¹ This incident is described in the same entry as the *mokke* and it seems as if there was a general awareness of a state of imbalance.

The most elaborate account of the fear associated with the events that were identified as *mokke* is perhaps to be found in the *Shunki*, 1040, in the seventh and eighth months. This entry relates to the destruction of the building of Toyouke at the outer Ise shrine and the incident required the attention of the court for months afterwards. Emperor Go-Suzaku blamed himself and his lack of virtue for this misfortune,¹⁵² which is an interpretation that is derived from the Chinese background. The entries reflect a state of confusion as there were no precedents. Several divinations and reports were requested in order to determine what had caused this incident. The results of the divinations then specified the most likely consequences of the event and thus served as a tool for prognostication in order to prepare for any repercussions.¹⁵³

However, from the association of the term *mokke* with the incident, it is clear that it represented a sign from the invisible realm which indicated that the balance had been disturbed and that action must be undertaken. This example ultimately combines both functions of *mokke* since it carried enormous significance for the court, and the courtiers were desperately trying to understand the meaning of the event. As such it represents a specific mode of interpretation that related the occurrence of unusual natural phenomena to the invisible realm and transmitted information. The *Hyakurensō* also notes that an oracle had been received by the imperial priestess at Ise on the twelfth day stating that the deity was in a state of agitation because people from the outside had come with offerings and prayers. However, this should only be done after completing the restoration of the deity's former building. Due to this oracle the

¹⁵¹ 神祇官西院坤角大木片枝俄折損也、尋先例必有幹廊御卜者 vol. 2, 245.

¹⁵² *Shunki*, 1040, eighth month, ninth day: … 吾不德之故… 101.

¹⁵³ See Appendix 5, ex. 15.

dispatch of offerings had been suspended for the time being, which was a cause for fear and concern.¹⁵⁴ These events ultimately led to the situation encountered previously in the context of the ninth month.

While these notions constitute the dominant modes in which *mokke* occurs within the *kanbun* diaries, an examination of other historical documents can add further dimensions to the concept. So far, the examples of *mokke* in the diaries have mostly been associated with shrines, but in the ninth century it appears that Buddhism played a more prominent role in counteracting the implications of ominous events. Instead of presenting offerings to various shrines, sutra recitations would be performed at various temples when *mokke* appeared, which represents an interesting shift. In 836, for instance, messengers were dispatched to thirteen individual temples in order to request sutra recitations because there had been *mokke* at the palace. The entry states that one thousand rolls of cotton were given as alms.¹⁵⁵

From the tenth century onwards, *mokke* mostly appears on its own. However, the association of *mokke* with *tatari* as signs that there was an underlying cause was not uncommon, and, upon closer inspection, this connection is still discernible in later times, especially in the context of *tatari*. Between 838 and 850 there are many instances in which the appearance of *mokke* is related to Kashiwabara tomb 栢原御陵, the final resting place of Kanmu Tennō 桓武天皇 (737-806). In 841, earthquakes and the drying up of a divine pond were interpreted as *mokke* and associated with a *tatari* that was being caused by the

¹⁵⁴ Tenth month, tenth day: 昨日從齋宮示送云。去十二日託宣云。只今神居不穩。尤似輕々。外人參る入奉拜。尤可無便。神居復舊之後。可有此事者。今依此事。奉幣使停止了。 *Kokushi taikei*, vol. 11, 28.

¹⁵⁵ *Shoku nihon kōki*: 遣中使於十三箇寺令行讀經事。以綿千屯爲布施。緣內裏有物恠也。 <http://www.j-texts.com/chuko/shokukouki.html> Accessed: 2018/08/22. Another such example can be found in the *Hōsō ruirin*, 830, intercalary twelfth month: Five monks were invited to recite the *Diamond Sutra*. The Jingikan was excluded and there was an apology because of the *mokke*. 請僧五口。奉讀金剛般若經。兼令神祇官解除。謝物恠。 *Kokushi taikei*, vol. 27, 43.

mausoleum in Kashiwabara.¹⁵⁶ *Mokke* as signs in nature thus predicated the existence of *tatari*. From an entry for 850 we know that *tatari* could be caused by *kegaré* 穢 within the tomb, which means that matters associated with its maintenance had either been neglected or done improperly, which resulted in ritual pollution. Offerings were then required in order to pacify the spirits.¹⁵⁷ Various examples can be found, which state specifically that *mokke* appeared because of *tatari*, whether caused by ancestral spirits or deities, and thus reveal the original interconnection of these concepts. As part of the late emperor's last caution, it is mentioned in 841 that *mokke* are due to the *tatari* of the ancestors,¹⁵⁸ which could be interpreted as a means to draw attention to a situation in which certain matters had been neglected. It may even constitute a method for those on the periphery to receive more attention and attract funds from the central administration and the court by evoking a sense of guilt.

Similarly, *mokke* also served to predicate the *tatari* caused by deities and entities that would be classed as *kishin*. There is an interesting anecdote in the *Ruiju sandaikaku* for the year 860, which states that from the Enryaku era (782-806) onwards offerings of cloth had been made to the various shrines, but that these were suddenly interrupted in the Kōnin era (810-824), whereupon *mokke* appeared abundantly. Even though offerings were made in later years and purification ceremonies were held, the weather was strange and there were epidemics. Then a divination was performed stating that the kami were causing

¹⁵⁶ *Shoku nihon kōki*, fifth month, third day: 頃者在肥後國阿蘇郡神靈池無故涸減[]丈。又伊豆國有地震之變。乍驚問求。旱疫之災及兵事可卜申。自此之外物恠亦多。… 栢原兩山陵賽崇焉。 <http://www.j-texts.com/jodai/rikkoku.html> Accessed: 2018/08/22.

¹⁵⁷ *Shoku nihon kōki*, third month, fourteenth day: 天皇大命掛畏栢原御陵申賜申頃間物恠在依。卜求。掛畏御陵爲崇賜申。因茲。恐畏無極。若御陵內犯穢事在令巡察爲。 <http://www.j-texts.com/jodai/rikkoku.html> Accessed: 2018/08/22.

¹⁵⁸ *Shoku nihon kōki*, 841, eighth month, fifth day: 世間之事。每有物恠。寄崇先靈。是甚無謂也者。今隨有物恠。 <http://www.j-texts.com/chuko/shokukouki.html> Accessed: 2018/08/22.

tatari because they wanted offerings and prayers.¹⁵⁹ Ominous events described as *mokke* were also related to the *ki* of epidemics which, as has been discussed previously, could also be seen to constitute *tatari*. In 842, when a divination uncovered this cause, Ekijin, the deity of pestilence, was worshipped in several provinces and districts, as well as in Dazaifu, which points to its foreign origin.¹⁶⁰

All of these examples indicate an intrinsic link with *tatari* and demonstrate how *mokke* were a cause for great concern. The earlier ones, in particular, display a direct connection with the sphere of the deities, as *mokke* seems to become the outward expression of *tatari*. It can be assumed that they were still understood in this way later on even when the terms were not mentioned explicitly. It should have become clear over the course of this section how *mokke* functioned as an encoded message which originated in the invisible realm. The appearance of the sign required immediate attention through divination as a means of decryption and the appropriate ritual response. Most of these earlier examples relate to the type of *mokke* that signified a state in which the overall balance in the cosmos had already been disrupted. In the next section, *tatari*, as the last of the four keywords, will be examined and contrasted with the other terms.

4.2 *Tatari*

Tatari is a topic that just like “evil spirits” has been dealt with extensively, especially in Japanese scholarship. In the West, however, it has not received much

¹⁵⁹ First month, twentieth day: 古老傳云。延曆以往割大神封物宛幣帛斷奉件諸神。弘仁以來止而不奉。巨之茲諸神成祟。物怪頻示。仍去嘉祥元年辨備幣帛。請當國移文向於彼國。而稱無稱例不聽通關。爰道繼身留關下。不得向社。所賀〔〕幣・物祓弃河頭空以迴來者。頃年夏月寒風秋稼不稔。部內疫癘連年有聞。宮司卜筮。件神成祟。仍可奉幣帛之狀。禱祈已畢。望請 *Kokushi taikei*, vol. 25, 21.

¹⁶⁰ *Shoku nihon kōki*, fifth month, twenty-seventh day: 近有物恠。卜食。疫氣告咎。宜令五畿內七道諸國及大宰府。敬祭疫神。以禦咎徵也。 <http://www.j-texts.com/chuko/shokukouki.html> Accessed: 2018/08/22. This entry mentions specifically the blame incurred that led to the appearance of signs.

scholarly attention as a phenomenon even though there is an awareness of the concept. One notable work in Japanese, which was written by Ōe Atsushi,¹⁶¹ explores the development of the concept of *tatari* from its appearances in the *Rikkokushi* 六国史 [Six *National Histories*] through to the eleventh century. He examines the term's prior close identification with the *kami* as well as the role of the *Jingikan* in the proliferation of the concept. Ōe also pays attention to its later diversification as an indication of something that could have been caused by spirits such as *onryō*. According to Ōe's definition, *tatari* should be understood as an admonishment from the *kami*, who were responsible for causing calamities.

In the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, the predominant pattern is that the *kami* ask for more worship through *tatari*. It seems that this was the only way of making humans aware of the fact that the *kami* wanted something specific, which points to the underlying communication processes to be discussed in the following chapters.¹⁶² Morohashi defines *tatari* as a punishment for humans that has been sent by the deities in the form of calamities. The term can also refer to the calamity itself.¹⁶³ Both the way in which the causes were ascertained, and the ritual responses handled in such situations, attest to the importance attached to *tatari* and its perceived subversive power. Ōe focusses on the strong connection between the concept of *tatari* and the *Jingikan* diviners, especially the *Urabe* 卜部, who performed the divinations in these cases. He states that *tatari* had a function within the ritual organisation of the state and hinted at political crises.¹⁶⁴

The contexts in which the term appears most frequently include illnesses and epidemics, the weather in terms of heavy rain or droughts, calamities in terms of fires, floods and earthquakes, damage to buildings at places of worship, *kegare*, and impurity. This and the fact that it could be caused by deities and

¹⁶¹ See Ōe, *Nihon kodai no kami to rei*.

¹⁶² Ōe, *Nihon kodai no kami to rei*, 17-20.

¹⁶³ Morohashi, *Dai kanwa jiten*, vol. 8, 463.

¹⁶⁴ Ōe, *Nihon kodai no kami to rei*, 38, 283-284.

spirits makes it the keyword with the broadest application and the most complex meaning, as it affected both the microcosm and the macrocosm. It is thus more difficult to situate *tatari* within the structuring of the invisible world and its perceived effects on the human realm. Furthermore, out of the four keywords, it is the term that appears most frequently in a variety of sources.

While *mokke* represented a sign indicating that something was wrong, *tatari* was a force that caused calamities, epidemics, etc. and represented a state of imbalance in relation to a specific entity as an active manifestation. Out of a sample of various instances of *tatari*, thirty-five per cent are related to natural calamities, and, apart from that, the illnesses of the *tennō* himself or of the crown princes.¹⁶⁵ Thus, *tatari* could cause illnesses directly within the human body and cross the boundaries between humanity and nature. In fact, my sample of entries in the diaries relating to *tatari* suggest that almost fifty per cent of the examples occur in the context of illness.¹⁶⁶ This means that *tatari* was equally applied to anomalous events in the form of illness as well as calamities. Although the human body often acted as the locus of indication for an underlying state of imbalance, it makes sense to consider some examples of natural disasters or unusual weather that come closer to the concept of *mokke*, in order to examine how the concept functions there.¹⁶⁷

When *tatari* was applied to unusual natural events, which were often related to meteorological phenomena, the situation was handled in a very specific order. Divinations were performed in order to identify the “offending location” or entity so that ritual countermeasures could be undertaken. When, in the ninth month of 1010, there was continuous heavy rain, the nature of which was compared to arrows, and accompanying strong winds, a divination was performed, which revealed that there was still *tatari* being caused by a great kami

¹⁶⁵ Ōe, *Nihon kodai no kami to rei*, 29.

¹⁶⁶ Refer to the tables in appendix 1 for an overview.

¹⁶⁷ As far as I am aware, the concept never occurs in relation to astral phenomena.

in the west-south-western direction. Officials were commanded to investigate the situation and another divination revealed that there were burial grounds near Ōharano shrine, which is located to the south-west of Kyoto. It was causing pollution and thus defiling the matters to do with the kami.¹⁶⁸ This example displays a strong association between *tatari* and the notion of ritual pollution, which can be substantiated in further entries. It also illustrates how the presence of *tatari* had to be predicated by another phenomenon, in this case the prolonged spell of heavy rain.

Similarly, in 1103, offerings were made to five shrines because a divination had revealed that the flood was due to a *tatari* that was being caused by the shrines. As a consequence, offerings were made to Ise, Kitano, Hirano, Inari and Gion.¹⁶⁹ It is interesting to note that in most cases like this, when the *jingi* were involved, the deities were not named directly, but rather their shrines, which constituted an “offending location”.¹⁷⁰ Despite the fact that this incident is not mentioned anywhere else, the *Hyakurenshō* tells us that there had already been periods of heavy rain throughout the ninth month, which interfered with the *Kamiso no matsuri* 神衣祭, a ceremony in which silk and linen were offered to the deities of the Ise shrines for their sacred clothes. While the imperial priestess was on her way there, the rain and wind caused complications and she received a divine oracle.¹⁷¹ The message is not further specified, but it seems reasonable

¹⁶⁸ *Midō kanpakuki*, 1010, ninth month, fifteenth day: 夜日無間雨下、如射矢、午後風雨、入夜有晴氣、前日御卜、有未申方大神崇者、仍令右衛門府生定澄令見、不淨者申無由、後有者云、大原野御社邊葬送所侍 Vol. 2, 75.

¹⁶⁹ *Chūyūki*, 1103, eleventh month, third day: 有五社奉幣、洪水之由御卜之所告、成崇〔崇〕神社也、上卿左兵衛督、伊勢・北野・平野・稻荷・祇園 Vol. 5, 79.

¹⁷⁰ According to Ohnuki-Tierney, the omission of their names could be seen as an absence of meaning that reflected their status as the highest-ranking deities of the realm. “The most powerful must remain as zero signifiers whose meanings are of extreme cultural significance”, “The Power of Absence. Zero Signifiers and Their Transgressions”. *L'Homme*, 34/130 (1994): 68. While this can only be applied tentatively to the situation at hand, it does at least present us with one possible explanation.

¹⁷¹ *Kokushi taikei*, vol. 11, 61: 大神宮神衣祭。齋王參向之間。有風雨之難。有託宣事。

to assume that this formed a backdrop for the events in the eleventh month, since Ise is also specifically mentioned as receiving offerings.

Fires were also a cause of great concern, since they not only functioned in a way similar to floods and heavy rain that predicated the presence of *tatari*, but they also caused *kegare*, which could delay ritual services to be performed for the deities. Sometimes the results of the Jingikan would differ significantly from those of the Onmyōryō based on their divinatory techniques, but they usually prompted the same countermeasures such as purifications (*ōharae* 大祓) and ritual ablution (*misogi* 禊).¹⁷²

So far, these examples have demonstrated that the deities were very involved with the punishment of humans, when their behaviour had been neglectful or improper, in the form of *tatari*. This influence was predicated through calamities or natural conditions that caused an unfavourable situation for humans. Although the term *mokke* is not used in most examples, the conditions are strongly reminiscent of the concept as they constitute strange events that indicated an underlying meta-physical agent and thus implied the presence of information that had to be decoded, which points to the historical link. Another factor that has emerged is the impact of ritual pollution and the effects it had in relation to the deities. *Tatari* could ensue because the ritual services provided for the kami had been polluted. Similarly, *kegare*, due to an external event such as fires or death, could interrupt the intended ritual services, which would also result in *tatari*.

This triangle of *kegare*, *tatari*, and neglectful behaviour can further be established in other types of historical documents. The *Heian ibun* contains a notice from the main priest of Ise Daijingu from the year 1084, which questions the imperial palace's diligence in performing rituals for the kami according to

¹⁷² For an example from 1167 see Appendix 5, ex. 16.

precedent. These matters had apparently been neglected for six years and the priest wonders whether these actions were causing *tatari*.¹⁷³ As we have seen, *tatari* was usually identified through an unusual occurrence or uncontrollable event. However, since many of these sources contain literary essays, we also find long passages dwelling on the problems within the country and the government, corruption among the bureaucracy, the lack of sincerity and commitment in worshipping the deities, and all the repercussions these issues had in terms of the safety of the nation, the imperial family and the population.¹⁷⁴ The appearance of events that were identified as *mokke* and *tatari* prompted philosophical speculation within the moral discourse of the declining age (*mappō*).

Compared to the examples that involved the first category of metaphysical entities, namely *mononoke* and *jaki*, it seems as if *mokke* and *tatari* related to a separate set of beliefs that mainly revolved around the deities and more specifically the *jingi* cult.¹⁷⁵ However, in its association with illnesses, *tatari* displays another range of features that represent a further dimension of the term's relation to other keywords. When Ichijō Tennō (980-1011) was having problems with his eyes, a divination was performed by Agata no Tomohira 景奉平 (dates unknown), which revealed that they were due to the *tatari* of the bodhisattva Myōken. An imperial messenger was quickly dispatched to Reiganji, where Myōken was enshrined and it was discovered that the cypress bark roof on Myōken's hall had been damaged. For this reason, the deity had caused *tatari*,

¹⁷³ 此六ヶ年之間、闕怠恒例供神物、若依如此事、所致御崇歟 Vol. 4, 1202-1203. Ōe includes some helpful charts that contain various references to the term *tatari* from the ninth-eleventh centuries. See 27-29, 114-117. For a further example see Appendix 5, ex. 17.

¹⁷⁴ See, for example, the first day of the tenth month in 1085, *Chōyagunsai*, vol. 29.1, 50. This essay will be discussed in more detail in the context of the disruption of harmony towards the end of this chapter.

¹⁷⁵ Teeuwen and Breen note that while in China “heavenly deities” referred to actual heavenly deities, and “earthly deities” to those of the soil, in Japan the former related to the kami of court and the latter to the kami that were worshipped by local lineages. *A Social History of the Ise Shrines*, 20.

which was responsible for the emperor's discomfort, and the roof should be repaired as soon as possible.¹⁷⁶ This case is very similar to the ones encountered in the context of *mononoke* and *jaki*, as a "bodily dysfunction" was the indicator of an underlying, meta-physical cause, in this case *tatari*. The presence of this influence was revealed through divination, which is similar to the procedure followed in relation to natural phenomena. Here it is directly related to a deity, and it should be noted that it was the emperor himself who was afflicted.

Myōken 妙見, also called Hokushin bosatsu 北辰菩薩, is of particular interest since the concept of the deity features a complex set of associations. As Faure notes, deities like this represent hybrids in the sense that they constituted a network rather than an individual entity.¹⁷⁷ Although a Buddhist deity on the surface, Myōken had its origins in the Daoist pantheon, since the popular Chinese Buddhism of the T'ang period had absorbed many of its features. Myōken entered Japan as the god of the Pole Star as part of the practices surrounding the cult of the seven stars of the Plough (Ursa Major). In China, this constellation was regarded as the stellar regulator that contained the offices and archives that determined human destiny based on the records kept by Enmaten and his assistant Taizan Fukun who governed the underworld.

From the Heian period onwards, many stellar deities were prayed to for protection from misfortune and illnesses,¹⁷⁸ but it was the Pole Star that carried important implications for the *tennō* and his position as the head of the state and the maintenance of the dominant power relations. Since the Pole Star was perceived to be the unmoving axis at the centre of the universe, or, at least, as we

¹⁷⁶ *Gonki*, 999, twelfth month, ninth day: ... 自昨御目悩給、奉平占申、妙見成崇者、早遣使靈巖寺、令實檢妙見堂、即仰藏人… 此間為供孝歸來、申云、妙見堂上檜皮等破損、… 早仰左大臣、令仰所司并国司等可令修理、大臣被奏云、国司奉使他行、木工寮頭雅致触穢、官人等雖奉仰、不可触頭、々若口入尤可怖之處事也、但修理職先例雖不奉仕、至于此度、依事崇有御悩, 95.

¹⁷⁷ Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon*, 27.

¹⁷⁸ For more information on astral deities and their role in Buddhism and *sukuyōdō*, see Yamashita Katsuaki. *Heian jidai no shūkyō bunka to onmyōdō*. Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 1996, 283-305.

now know, the northern hemisphere, it was equated with the Heavenly Emperor himself and became the object of rituals performed for the imperial family. The Pole Star as a symbol of “Oneness” (Taiichi 太一, also the Unifier) in China could also be defined as the *dao* 道 as the original source of all things. Just as it has been suggested that Taiichi came to be associated with Amaterasu,¹⁷⁹ so Myōken, as the deity of the Pole Star, became a symbol of sovereignty. It is thus no surprise that the deity’s displeasure at the deterioration of its place of worship affected the emperor directly.¹⁸⁰

At this point I would like to include a short discussion on some of the symbolic associations of the Ise Shrines with other entities, as they will be important for understanding the application of *tatari* in relation to the emperor and the various modes of articulating imperial authority. Yoshino claims that it was during Tenmu Tennō’s reign (673-686) that the emperor came to be seen as a living deity that regulated the cosmos. This notion was further underlined by the association of Amaterasu with Taiichi, who dwelt in his Heavenly Palace (*tengū* 天宮) at the centre of the universe. According to Yoshino, worship of the Pole Star was intertwined with beliefs surrounding the seven stars of the Plough (*hokuto* 北斗), so that the Outer Shrine served as the sanctuary for this constellation and the auxiliary shrines represented the seven stars.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ Yoshino Hiroko. *Kakusareta kamigami: Kodai shinkō to onmyō gogyō*. Tokyo: Kawade Bunko, 2014, 6.

¹⁸⁰ Seidel, “Chronicle of Taoist Studies in the West”, 254-258, 302-303; Dolce, Lucia. “The Worship of Celestial Bodies in Japan: politics, rituals and icons”. *Culture and Cosmos: a journal of the history of astrology and cultural astronomy*, 10/1-2 (2006), 162-167; Naumann, Nelly. *Die Mythen des alten Japan*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 1996, 43-44; Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon*, 51-114. Faure also remarks that Myōken became the *honji* of Yakushi Buddha in Japan, probably due to the deity’s strong connection with the number seven and the Seven Yakushi Buddhas, as an entity that was both one (Taiichi) and sevenfold. See 70-71 for more details. Shigeta asserts that both the *kami* and the Buddhas could cause *tatari* indiscriminately. He analyses the same examples that I have introduced in this chapter but fails to analyse who was affected. See *Heian kizoku to onmyōji*, 140-143.

¹⁸¹ Yoshino, *Kakusareta kamigami*, 100-105; Teeuwen, “The Creation of a *Honji Suijaku* Deity”, 133-135. This association may be due in part to the fact that the Big Dipper was seen as the vehicle for the Taiichi or the Pole Star, see Yoshino, *Kakusareta kamigami*, 118-119.

Furthermore, Amaterasu was equated with Dainichi, who signified the Dharma-body, and thus became a symbol of the absolute.¹⁸² In this way, the Inner Shrine was defined as the Taizōkai 胎藏界 (Womb Realm), while the Outer Shrine embodied the Kongōkai 金剛界 (Diamond Realm).¹⁸³ Since the archives of human destiny kept by Enmaten and Taizan Fukun were thought to be located in the *hokuto* constellation and the Pole Star was further associated with the esoteric Buddhist deity Myōken, it becomes clear how a basic set of correspondences entailed complex networks of symbolic association and equivalence. It seems reasonable to conclude that an effort was made to prove that the plethora of beliefs ultimately originated from the same source and constituted a coordinated invisible realm. These points serve to demonstrate how the Ise Shrines were used as a map of the cosmos that confirmed Amaterasu/Tenshō Daijin through the symbolic associations with Dainichi/Taiichi as the most powerful symbol of imperial authority.

As has already been indicated by the effect of *tatari* on the human body, there were also examples in which the term was directly related to *jaki*. In the Suisaki in 1077, we find a representative example of *jaki* revealing underlying *tatari*, and its primary function as a marker of a state of imbalance and a tool for communication. The *jaki* that was causing the crown prince's illness revealed that Gion and Kibune Shrines were causing *tatari*.¹⁸⁴ *Jaki* functioned as a pathogen that disrupted the level of *ki* in the body as an indication of an underlying message that had to be decoded and could only be conveyed through *jaki*. This metaphysical entity becomes a true intermediary between the sphere of the deities and the realm of the humans in this instance.

¹⁸² Teeuwen and Rambelli, "Contemporary Religion and the *Honji Suijaku* paradigm in pre-modern Japan", 35.

¹⁸³ See Teeuwen, "The Creation of a *Honji Suijaku* Deity", 130.

¹⁸⁴ See Appendix 5, ex. 18.

In one example, the appearance of *jaki* afflicting Michinaga served to draw attention to the deities on Mt. Kinpu,¹⁸⁵ which is located to the south of Kyoto on the Kii Peninsula. They targeted him in order to convey their wish for more worship and ritual attention. This is an example of a case in which the deities were thought to affect directly someone who was not a member of the imperial family, but nevertheless, one of the highest-ranking members at court, if not the most powerful one. It would be interesting to see how these situations that involved a high-ranking courtier, compare to those centred on the imperial family. It seems almost as if due to his exalted position, Michinaga entered the discourse that was normally reserved for the emperor and the imperial family, although further analysis would be needed in order to discuss this point in more detail. The next entry reveals that the illness was also due to the *tatari* of Kibune Shrine. Again, his illness signified an underlying cause, which was related to his political strategies.¹⁸⁶

In the case of prolonged illnesses, it seems as if various causes were assigned in a trial and error procedure, and different types of countermeasures were undertaken in order to determine the most efficacious strategy. This means that the cause could be verified in retrospect. It is interesting to see in these consecutive examples that the first mentions *jaki* specifically while displaying features of *tatari*, and the second mentions *tatari* specifically while evoking notions of *jaki* that affected the body and caused the illness. Although *tatari* thus does not constitute an entity in itself, but rather a force, it is nevertheless an element that relates not only the different sets of meta-physical beliefs to each other, but also creates networks of meaning among the keywords. Just like *mokke*,

¹⁸⁵ Kinpusen, or the Peak of Gold, was an important destination for pilgrimage in the Heian period and was thought to house the local deity Zaō 蔵王. It was also associated with Daoist-style longevity practices and formed part of the tradition of Shugendō 修験道. However, in the Heian period it was imbued with political significance and was targeted by different factions. For more information see Blair, *Real and Imagined*, 1-12, 60-66.

¹⁸⁶ See Appendix 5, ex. 19.

jaki becomes an outward manifestation of the presence of *tatari* as the actual cause and a sign of a perceived imbalance usually relating to the worship of the deities. In this way *jaki* and *mokke* become counterparts in that the former transmits the information by using a human body (microcosm), while the latter transmits information in “nature” (macrocosm). At times the concept of *jaki* seems to merge with ideas relating to *onryō*, which is why it is often taken to represent a spirit directly. In some cases, such an interpretation may be correct, but we must also keep the original use of *jaki* in mind, which is prominent in many examples, as my examination of the topic has demonstrated so far.

It portrays the potential for adaptation in the Japanese belief system due to which many types of beliefs merged, and associations were built. This resulted in a complex network of intertextuality, especially with regard to the *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹 paradigm. So far *tatari* has been associated mainly with the deities, but it must also be mentioned that it could occur as an individualised phenomenon sent by an *onryō* or *goryō*. It was thus adapted to the fear of the court and their guilty conscience towards their former political rivals, especially in the case of the Fujiwara. This interpretation was sometimes offered by friends of the victims who were affiliated with Buddhist institutions as a means of gaining attention from the court.¹⁸⁷ We must also remember here that many of these angry spirits were pacified and eventually worshipped, turning them into deities themselves. This embodies the flexible nature of the spectrum of beliefs and how *tatari* came to include a variety of agents.

Tatari usually formed part of a chain of explanations, in which *jaki* and *mokke* could serve to predicate its presence. It is, however, the least direct of these terms as it had to be uncovered through divination, or, in relation to *jaki*, sometimes through *kaji*. It could relate to either illnesses or natural phenomena

¹⁸⁷ For more information regarding this topic see Ōe, *Nihon kodai no kami to rei*, 197-222.

with the additional notions of calamities and epidemics and thus seems further removed within the interpretative framework. The connection with the deities is much stronger in relation to *mokke* and *tatari* when compared to *mononoke* and *jaki*, which indicates a hierarchy. This may be due to the fact that the former category does not incorporate any meta-physical entities, but rather refers to signs and a type of meta-physical force. They all share the feature of signifying that the overall balance of relations had been disturbed, whether in the body or the cosmos as a whole, which could indicate that the relations between the human and meta-physical realms were at risk.

When *tatari* was used, we find a very strong association with the correct performance of all matters relating to the kami. Mistakes would produce *kegare*, which in turn caused *tatari*. Thus, the term, and by extension *jaki* and *mokke*, were tied into a discourse of correct behaviour of humans within their world on a first level and towards the deities on a more profound level. In this sense the four keywords could be said to function as a barometer of the state of the nation and its relations with regards to the invisible realm. On the level of the individual they were usually related to the afflicted person's position and social standing, whereas when such meta-physical signs appeared on a grander scale, the issues were generally applicable to the court as a whole or the fault of the emperor specifically.

4.3 The cosmological notion of *ki* in nature

Tatari and its effects could transcend the boundary between the microcosm and the macrocosm, but, as we have seen, this notion is only conceivable against the backdrop of *ki* (Ch. *qī*), which was thought to establish the relations and resonance between these two spheres. For this reason, I would now like to consider the significance of *ki* in nature and how *mokke* and *tatari* could be taken

as an expression of a disruption of the harmonious relations among the forces of the cosmos. The notion of primordial *qi* (*genki* 元氣) as a condition of initial chaos and non-differentiation represents the phase preceding the structuring of the cosmos and everything contained within it and thus stands at the beginning of the universe.¹⁸⁸ The universe as a continuum consists of a single substance in its various forms and particular conditions, namely *qi*.¹⁸⁹

It can be seen as a synonym for *dao* 道, not necessarily in the sense of the Confucians as the ideal order of society, but rather in the Daoist sense as the order of nature and the way in which the universe worked. It exists in and of itself and governs the orderly processes of change of everything that is contained within the universe and keeps all empirical things moving much like a secret mechanism.¹⁹⁰ Among the various Chinese philosophical schools there seems to have been a dialectic tension between the two concepts of *dao* and *qi*, as to which of these forces constituted the ontological foundation of the cosmos. The Neo-Confucianists especially seem to have favoured *qi* as the central concept.¹⁹¹ However, since we are dealing with notions of cosmic resonance and the relations between the microcosm and macrocosm, *qi* and not *dao* will be of primary importance for this discussion.

Aside from the primordial *qi* there was thought to exist a second type in the sense of an “energetic constellation”, which during the Han dynasty, was associated with theories of *yin* and *yang*, as that which brings forth and is shaped by these complementary forces. This notion of *qi* was further correlated with the principle of *li* 理 by the Neo-Confucians in order to represent the material and

¹⁸⁸ Engelhardt, *Die klassische Tradition der Qi-Übungen*, 10-11.

¹⁸⁹ Seidel, *Die Inoffizielle Religion Chinas*, 6.

¹⁹⁰ Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 2, 36-46.

¹⁹¹ Ommerborn, “Der Begriff Qi in der chinesischen Geistesgeschichte”, 105-107. While Neo-Confucianism is not relevant to the Heian period itself, it is interesting to trace the historical development of these concepts.

immaterial aspects of the universe. *Li* was understood as a universal cosmic pattern that, as “a self-regulatory equilibrium”, ordered and harmonised the universe.¹⁹² In the *Huainanzi*, *qi*, as the constellation of which everything is made, is seen to consist of heavy and light aspects, which separate in order to form Heaven and Earth, and, in turn, produce *yin* and *yang*. This implies that the heavy aspect becomes the creative force of the visible universe. The waxing and waning of these complementary forces in constantly shifting proportions produce the natural cycles of the cosmos, such as the four seasons and the annual, monthly, and daily progressions, thus providing the structure that governs human lives. These notions were then further associated with the Five Phases.¹⁹³ Many of the Chinese canonical philosophical works had been imported to Japan and read widely by the scholars and courtiers especially. Hence, it seems reasonable to assume that these concepts of cosmogony had an impact on the premodern Japanese worldview and formed a backdrop for the explanations of events. In fact, the influence of these works is immediately apparent at the beginning of the *Nihon shoki*, which refers to the forces of *yin* and *yang*, and quotes directly from the *Huainanzi* and other sources in parts.¹⁹⁴

We have seen how evil influences that entered the body and caused illnesses disrupted the level of *qi* by producing too much *yin* energy. Based on the resonance between the microcosm and the macrocosm it can be inferred that the processes within the latter realm functioned in a similar way. When human actions angered the deities, the natural balance and the constellation of *qi* would be disturbed due to the accumulation of negative energy. *Mokke* can thus be understood as a natural expression of the disrupted balance that caused certain

¹⁹² Needham, *Science and Civilisation*, vol. 2, 472-473. Nakayama Shigeru. *A History of Japanese Astronomy: Chinese Background and Western Impact*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969, 41-42.

¹⁹³ Major, *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought*, 25-27, 62-67.

¹⁹⁴ The Japanese court was striving to produce a historical text that would legitimise their position and could stand alongside Chinese historiography. Naumann, *Die Mythen des Alten Japan*, 40-47.

astral or meteorological phenomena or affected the behaviour of animals because *yin* and *yang* were not in a phase of natural equilibrium. Their proportions had been altered through human actions rather than the natural progression of events and the cosmos reacted accordingly. Similarly, *tatari* as a force was directly sent or emitted by the deities, and, based on our knowledge from these sources, we must assume that it too had an effect on the *qi* of empirical things as it consisted of its own constellation of *yin* and *yang qi*. These negative energies could then either cause illnesses and epidemics within the body, or calamities on a larger scale.

It has become apparent how *jaki* could act as an intermediary and indicate an underlying problem, in which case the illness caused by this entity only became a symptom of the deities' displeasure. Although *jaki* alternately seems to assume the identity of a spirit or exist solely as a negative force, in some of these cases the entity conveys a message without revealing its own identity. The agent speaking through the patient or a medium is thus a mystery. Two interpretations seem possible in these cases where *jaki* acts as an intermediary. Firstly, within Heian-period thought, *jaki* could have been sent directly by the deities in order to draw attention to themselves and transmit their wishes. This explanation seems plausible enough in the light of the concept of *tatari* and the way in which it originally signified a need for more ritual attention. Secondly, it also seems conceivable that through the disruption of the overall balance, which caused one force to dominate the other, an opening was created for malevolent influences to have an effect on the human realm. This is reminiscent of the idea mentioned earlier that *yin* was associated with forces such as *mono* and *jaki*, while *yang* was related to the deities and higher beings. One entry in the *Gunsho ruijū* states that when *yin* and *yang* are irregular and out of balance, confusion is caused and the

deities scatter, while the *jaki* come together.¹⁹⁵ This issue will be examined in further detail in the next section in the context of the maintenance and disruption of harmonious relations.

4.4 The disruption of cosmic harmony

It has emerged from the examination of the primary sources that the keywords can only appear within a certain type of discourse that had an explanatory function as well as moral implications, namely the maintenance of harmonious relations. The main foundation for this type of analogical reasoning lay in the notion of the cosmic unity between heaven and humanity. In early Chinese thought, it was believed that the ideal paradigm of how things ought to be could be found in the heavens as a source for the establishment of order in the human realm.¹⁹⁶ Many of the examples that have been considered here appeared within the context of the disruption of the natural order and evoked a sense of an ideal order of things against which everything was measured.

The fact that the function of the Onmyōryō within the Heian Japanese state was to observe the heavens and submit secret reports to the emperor if any irregularities occurred, presents further evidence that these originally Chinese ideas had been absorbed into the premodern Japanese worldview. While in China this preoccupation with the heavens contributed to the advancement of predictions of astronomical phenomena and accurate calendars that were constantly revised, Japanese court astronomers and astrologers lacked sufficient proficiency in scientific methods and were more interested in portent astrology,

¹⁹⁵ *Meibunshō*, a Kamakura period commentary on Chinese sources, 雜部 scroll 886, 200: 陰陽變則心氣動。心氣動則積神散。積神散而邪氣及銷。JapanKnowledge, <https://japanknowledge-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk>, Accessed: 2018/08/25.

¹⁹⁶ Pankenier, David W. *Early Chinese Astronomy and Cosmology: The "Mandate of Heaven" as Epiphany*. 1983. Stanford University, Ph.D. dissertation, 1.

divination and prognostication for utilitarian purposes. This led to the increasing inaccuracy of the calendar, but, nevertheless, this type of astrology constituted an organised body of knowledge in the sense that there were recognised methods and ambitions to arrive at an understanding of the world.¹⁹⁷ Consequently, the Japanese also looked to the heavens for guidance in an attempt to model the activities in the human realm after its patterns, but their surroundings as well as the human body itself could also serve to indicate underlying problems.

Irregularities were ascribed to invisible agents, often a celestial power in the sky that brought about anomalies as admonitions. In China, heaven was seen to act by design as an impersonal force that guided phenomena, and thus reacted to natural imbalances as well as those caused by humans. It was also a source of legitimacy as it bestowed its “Heavenly Mandate” on the virtuous ruler, who, in turn, was responsible for the timely performance of ritual activities that conformed to the natural patterns of seasonal phenomena. Human behaviour was thought to resonate with the cosmic forces and thus was supposed to conform to the will of Heaven so as not to cause any disruption. Within this discourse the ruler occupied the pivotal position and was supposed to carry out the ritual acts that would maintain the harmony between heaven and earth.¹⁹⁸ Natural calamities were perceived to be due to the emperor’s moral failings, which is a notion that is still evident in Heian Japan, despite the historical and socio-political differences, as the example from the *Shunki* suggested. While the concept of the “Mandate of Heaven” was not ascribed the same level of importance in premodern Japan due to the notion of an unbroken line of rulers leading back to the Sun Goddess, the significance of the correct and timely performance of rituals is apparent from the *nenjū gyōji* 年中行事. Over the course of the year, specific

¹⁹⁷ Nakayama, *A History of Japanese Astronomy*, 48-52, 75-76; Sugimoto, and Swain, *Science and Culture in Traditional Japan*, 46-52.

¹⁹⁸ Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism*, 87-91. Pankenier, *Early Chinese Astronomy and Cosmology*, 1-2.

rituals had to be performed by the court, and especially the *tennō* as the ritual mediator between heaven and earth, on certain days of the month. Offerings also had to be made to the deities according to fixed schedules.¹⁹⁹

Heaven as an impersonal agent does not figure quite as prominently in premodern Japan, although traces of this belief do emerge as they were naturally included in the Chinese knowledge that was being imported. Within the Japanese interpretation it is the *jingi* who appear prominently and who constituted the primary agents to provide judgment, as is apparent from the context of *tatari*. I would now like to consider some examples from Heian-period essays that can reveal more about the nature of this worldview. Many of these essays refer to problems in the nation and the moral failings of humans to comply with the rules set out by the imperial palace. This would incur punishment from above, especially due to the relationship between the imperial family and the heavenly deities. These texts also disclose how these situations could have been avoided and present a glimpse of the ideal paradigm and the correct procedures in terms of worship that would maintain harmonious relations.

The *Honchō monzui*, for instance, contains a collection of poems and essays composed in Chinese and compiled in the eleventh century, which cite extensively from the Chinese sources. One such example relates to the proper worship of the deities in question and answer form composed by two different authors. The question, in this example, was formulated by Miyoshi Kiyoyuki 三善清行 (847-918), a prominent Confucian scholar of the Heian period.²⁰⁰ In this particular form it is located in a specific section of the book that is dedicated to

¹⁹⁹ See Miller, 108-111 for a chart that demonstrates how “the Japanese court of the Heian period functioned as a liturgical unit”. (112)

²⁰⁰ Miyoshi was one of the composers of the *Engi shiki* 延喜式. He also wrote the *Zenke hiki* 善家秘記, which will be of importance for the next chapter, but is probably most famous for his “Statement of Opinion on Twelve Matters” from 914. See Lu, David John. *Japan: A Documentary History*. London: M.E. Sharpe, 1997, 63-69.

such debates. Rather than a proper question, this text represents a literary exposé that quotes from a variety of the Chinese Classics, such as the *Shang shu* 尚書 [*Book of Documents*], *Shijing* 詩經 [*Book of Poetry*], *Liji* 禮記 [*Book of Rites*], and *I ching* 周易 [*Book of Changes*], as well as the *Zhouli* 周禮 [*Rites of Zhou*] and many more. In fact, the text itself is very cryptic and can only be understood if the quotations are known, which attests to the scholars' knowledge of the sources. The passage sums up the necessity of appeasing the deities so that they may descend to observe the prospering countries (*kuni* 国) by diligently performing the correct rituals for each category, which would cause chaos and disruption through evil influences and disease.²⁰¹

From these few sentences we learn that the proper and diligent worship of the deities was also a vital component of Chinese ritual activities and that the Heian nobility looked to these canonical sources for guidance in their own practices. Many of these notions reflect the common associations made in the context of the keywords, such as epidemics and prolonged illnesses that affected the emperor as the representative of the state and the mediator between heaven and earth. Calamities were thus not just based on the will of heaven but also the neglect of the deities. It must be remembered that these essays were written as components of a debate and that the authors would each have had their own motives to win the reader over with their arguments and display their knowledge of the Chinese sources. Thus, the true impact of Chinese thought should not be overemphasised. However, Miyoshi was a product of the Heian university system, where all scholars studied either the Chinese Classics or history, and knowledge of the Confucian ideals was a desirable quality for educated men. Miyoshi had a very specific view of the world as he elaborated on in detail in his "Statement of

²⁰¹ See Appendix 5, ex. 20.

Opinion in Twelve Matters”, in which he criticises the state of government offices, the university system, and the court nobility’s obsession with luxury, while discrediting Buddhist practices.²⁰² It is in this light that the entry must be read. His first entry among his “Twelve Opinions” deals with the question of eradicating drought so that good crops can be obtained to feed the people. He emphasises in particular the regular and conscientious performance of rituals by the Jingikan and the imperial family.²⁰³

In an imperial report written on the construction of Kujō Hall by the Daijō Daijin 太政大臣 Fujiwara no Nobunaga 藤原信長 (1022-1094), Fujiwara no Narisue 藤原成季 (dates unknown), a Heian period instructor of writing and composition, addresses very similar issues that relate to the decline of order in the government offices and the carelessness of the courtiers especially among the upper ranks. Based on his position he would have had a very similar educational background to Miyoshi and been well-versed in the Chinese Classics, although he was clearly a supporter of Buddhism. He addresses his report to Taishakuten 帝釈天, who, as a symbol of the centre, commanded the Shitennō 四天王, the Four Heavenly Kings associated with the directions just like the Chinese Four Symbols (*Si xiang* 四象), and praises Nobunaga for building a temple in these times. Again, this essay demonstrates the causal relation between misrule, inappropriate human conduct, and the occurrence of calamities.²⁰⁴

Despite the fact that these two essays were written roughly a century apart, the logic of reasoning had not changed, even though the former was mostly concerned with the duty of the ruler with respect to the *jingi* cult and the latter

²⁰² Lu, *Japan: A Documentary History*, 63-69. For a complete translation of this text in German, see Kluge, Inge-Lore. *Miyoshi Kiyoyuki, sein Leben und seine Zeit*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958, 46-70.

²⁰³ Kakimura Shigematsu. *Honchō Monzui Chūshaku*, vol. 1. Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1968, 254-266.

²⁰⁴ See Appendix 5, ex. 21.

assumed a Buddhist perspective in relation to the duties of the higher-ranking courtiers and the organisation of the government offices.²⁰⁵ Taishakuten was invoked for protection against the earthly deities, which were associated with the lineages of the court nobles, and other more ambiguous negative influences. The implication is always that immoral or careless human behaviour would offend the deities, who would in turn cause calamities and epidemics because the balance between heaven and earth had been disrupted. It illustrates the co-dependent relationship between humans and deities and that each category had to rely on the other in order to maintain a state of equilibrium between the two realms.

This idea is reminiscent of Dong Zhongshu's omenology and one of his central tenets is that unusual events occur because immoral human conduct has either disrupted or will disrupt the balance of *yin* and *yang*, which implies an ethical continuity between heaven and the human realm, as Queen remarks.²⁰⁶ This is exactly in line with my interpretation of the concepts of *mokke* and *tatari* and how they become expressions of the effects of *qi* in nature. This type of reasoning thus represents a complete cycle between the microcosm and macrocosm with limited options for deviation. The fact that it is still so prominent within the Heian Japanese worldview and reflects various strands of classical Chinese thought prompts the conclusion that it must be understood as one of the predominant modes of interpretation. It was the only conceptual discourse within which all four keywords as intermediary entities and forces could appear. Thus, the primary function of these terms was to draw attention to an imbalance by providing a link between heaven and earth, or the deities and the people. They

²⁰⁵ The essay was composed during Shirakawa's reign, who, it should be noted, abdicated in 1086. A minor was placed on the throne so that the cloistered emperor could retrieve direct political influence and manage affairs from the background, which represented the beginning of the *insei* period. See Sansom, *A History of Japan*, vol. 1, 197-211.

²⁰⁶ Queen, *From Chronicle to Canon*, 218-220. While Dong Zhongshu saw heaven as the primary agent that reacted to human conduct, in Japan the deities play a more dominant role and heaven only appears as a vague notion in the background.

provided a paradigm for the association of cause and effect, which centred on the ritual responsibilities and the moral and reverential behaviour of humans, not only towards the deities, but also towards nature and each other.

5. The processes of assigning meaning to inexplicable phenomena

In the last section of this chapter I would like to examine, from a meta-level, the general implications that these sources have uncovered and consider the ways in which meaning was assigned to unusual events. It will be of interest not only to consider the patterns of thought but also the conscious differentiation between the categories of meta-physical entities with reference to an explanatory paradigm. While it is true that these types of entities were thought to exist within the invisible realms that were hidden from human perception, it must also be remembered that these notions were promoted by certain groups in order to assert their power or legitimise their position. Conversely, they could also embody a form of indirect criticism that was directed at someone in a higher position due to the moral implications of this explanatory structure.

5.1 The nature-culture dialectic

Based on the previous discussion of anomalies there is an interesting division between natural phenomena that could not be explained and cultural expressions, in the sense of beliefs that supplied an interpretation. This differentiation between nature and culture, which can be ascertained on the meta-level, reflects a dialectic tension between the two. If illnesses are understood as natural processes, in the sense that humans have no control over them, just like natural calamities, unusual weather, strange phenomena in the heavens (comets, eclipses,

movement of the heavenly bodies), animal behaviour etc., all of these events form part of nature.²⁰⁷ When they appeared, nature had to be decoded through cultural means, i.e. the meta-physical beliefs, which were essentially constructs that emerged from the belief-knowledge system.

Such beliefs and the proto-scientific fields of the time, which derived from the episteme, constituted the explanatory framework. They were thus the accepted modes of explanation that were considered to be true at the time. Without attempting to define such a complex concept as “culture”, it should perhaps be understood as anything made or thought up by humans in contrast to the concept of nature, while it also represents the customs, accepted norms, and modes of thought of a society or social unit. This distinction represents essentially the human or a society as an ordered organism as opposed to the external space, which could pose a potential threat. At that time, nature, although it could be understood as controlled by humans to some extent, in the sense of agriculture and the rearing of livestock, etc., was still mostly unpredictable and seemed erratic in many ways.

Moreover, the relation between the microcosm of human society and the macrocosm of nature and the universe was founded not just upon *qi* that established cosmic resonance, but also upon ethical behaviour, which affected the balance of *qi*. Nature was seen to react to unethical conduct by causing calamities and it needed virtuous human actions to maintain its balance.²⁰⁸ This dialectic can also be applied to the increasing domination of culture over nature, which is a topic that Grapard addresses in a more recent article. He applies the concept to certain geographical areas in Japan, which have become sacred spaces, such as mountains, and onto which certain mental structures have been projected. He

²⁰⁷ This section is based on a modern understanding of nature so that the dialectic relationship between the two concepts may be illustrated from an etic perspective.

²⁰⁸ Grapard notes that the rainmaking rituals of the Shingon tradition display an aspect of penitence, which leads him to summarise the dialectic between nature and culture in a similar way. “Religious Practices”, 538.

uses mountains as an example, which were often considered to be the places where deities reside, or even constituted the “body” of the deity. Shrines were built there for rituals, which would often be joined by Buddhist temples, creating cultic centres that came to dominate the surrounding area by providing spiritual protection.²⁰⁹ The nature-culture dialectic finds expression in many forms, but here it constitutes an important component of the way in which people made sense of the world around them. It evokes the aforementioned relations between humans and the cosmos, and the resonance between them.

5.2 Hierarchies and the conscious differentiation of levels

This separation between the microcosm and the macrocosm, and, by extension, the visible and the invisible realms, results in two parallel dimensions that were mutually dependent and obeyed the same basic principles that sustained the cosmos at large. The examination of the keywords has revealed that, much like the structure of the bureaucracy, the invisible forces were also thought to exist on different levels within their sphere. The meta-physical beliefs under consideration here have already been grouped into two categories based on their features, which associates them either with the human body or phenomena in nature. Not only do we find a differentiation of levels with regard to these harmful meta-physical beliefs, but also between these kinds of meta-physical beliefs (*mono* and *kishin*) and the deities that was consciously and strictly maintained on various levels. *Mono* and *kishin* should be seen as referring to those types of entities that could constitute intermediary forces and were not associated with the regular deities.

²⁰⁹ “Nature and Culture in Japan”, <https://kyotojournal.org/the-journal/culture-arts/nature-and-culture-in-japan/> Accessed: 2018/08/30.

Based on the examples considered so far, it seems as if *kami* here refers to the official cult surrounding the emperor, imperial family, and the highest-ranking members at court. I would like to tentatively suggest that they presented those deities that supported and protected the country and imperial rule and should be seen to include the twenty-two shrine-temple multiplexes.²¹⁰ There seems to be a divide between the officially sanctioned cults and popular beliefs, often stemming from continental traditions, that posed a potential threat to the country or imperial rule. This would imply a dynamic tension between the cults surrounding the figure of the emperor and those of the regular members of the aristocracy. This issue will be addressed again from various angles in the following chapters.

The differentiation between what has been classified as *mono* and the deities is expressed on several levels. Firstly, they differed in terms of the effects they could have on the human realm. The keywords often expressed something that was caused by the deities' displeasure. However, their influence seems to be quite indirect and they appear to be further removed from the human realm as they required intermediary forces and entities, as well as dreams or oracles, in order to draw attention to themselves. Secondly, there were different sets of rituals and appropriate countermeasures for each of these categories so that it was necessary to determine the cause first, or risk retribution by ascertaining the cause retrospectively, based on the efficacy of the rituals performed.

This implies a hierarchy of beliefs that, even though it was flexible and ambiguous, presents us with a pyramid-shaped structure. The highest-ranking deities were situated at the top of this hierarchy and comprised a small group of presumably *jingi*. The next level could be seen to include the lower-ranking deities of various origins and Buddhist deities that were referred to explicitly. The

²¹⁰ See Grapard, "Institution, Ritual, and Ideology" for more information on the shrine-temple multiplexes.

bottom of the pyramid would then consist of those categories that were not worshipped. The categories of *kishin* and *mono* could be assigned to this level, as they appeared in a variety of forms, some of which were not specified concretely. Concepts such as *qi*, *yin* and *yang*, and the Five Phases should also be included in this stratum as they presented the elemental components of all things and had the ability to change the conditions of living beings. This structuring of the invisible world could account for all types of meta-physical belief and provides an inventory of concepts that could be applied to various anomalous situations.

This configuration immediately calls to mind the bureaucratic structure of the Heian-period state based on the *ritsuryō*, with the emperor at the top of the pyramid, the few highest-ranking ministers in the upper echelons of the top three ranks, those located in a middle stratum around the fifth rank and then the rest, who made up the largest group of courtiers and received the fewest benefits from the court. The emperor was also the one who was the furthest removed from the populace. He had his various ministers and officials who mediated between the highest and the lowest ranks, which formed the basis for the organisation of the state. The lowest ranking courtiers were expected to work hard and perform the menial tasks and all administrative duties for little compensation, while those in power lived in luxury and were solely focussed on maintaining their own positions. In the Heian-period bureaucratic state, the lowest-ranking members could not communicate directly with the emperor, they had to find someone to represent their interests before the *tennō*, nor did the emperor communicate directly with the lower subordinates. His presence would have only been felt indirectly.

The underworld, whose deities inspected human conduct, was also thought to function in the same way as the state, which highlights how the dominant socio-political structures effected the construction of the worldview. The hierarchy of beliefs in the invisible realm, not just those related to the

afterlife, were similarly organised according to the bureaucratic structure and display an analogous division of labour. Furthermore, they fulfilled complementary functions as moral regulators and appeared as judges of human conduct, while the regulation of the netherworld focussed on individual human deeds based on notions of the karmic cycle of death and rebirth. However, the punishments administered by the deities were never arbitrary or without cause, and only occurred when a deity or several of them had been offended due to unethical or neglectful human behaviour. It seems to imply an underlying agreement founded upon reciprocity and co-dependence.

The question arises as to where the category of humans should be located in relation to this meta-physical hierarchy, or whether it is completely external to it due to the conceptual barrier between the physical and the meta-physical, or that which is invisible. Drawing on the analogy to the governmental structure, humans could potentially be viewed as the general populace in relation to the deities, which refers to those who had no ties to the court and were the ones being governed. Another parallel could be drawn to Buddhist cosmology, which was also vertically layered. Within the three realms – that of the enlightened beings at the top, the world of gods and humans in the middle and the various hells at the bottom – the middle realm is again structured according to “rank”. The gods reside on Mt. Sumeru depending on their status and the lower heavens, while the humans live on the continent below.²¹¹ The conceptual barriers lie between the enlightened beings and humans, and between humans and the various hell-dwellers. Aspects of *shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合 come into play here, as many of the highest-ranking *jingi* became associated with certain Buddhas, meaning that they should thus be located in the realm of enlightened beings, e.g. Amaterasu and

²¹¹ Teeuwen and Breen, *A Social History of the Ise Shrines*, 32.

Dainichi, while many of the meta-physical entities associated with the category of *kishin* would possibly be related to the category of hell-dwellers.

While the first structure focusses on the hierarchy of the invisible realm, it leaves out the status of humans with respect to the hierarchy. It is external to the situation and represents the meta-level. Buddhist cosmology places humans on a continuum with the other types of belief, as it was believed that all categories had the ability to move up and down the spectrum. Although with different specifications, it evokes the spectrum of deities and other types of beliefs that is characterised by its flexibility and ambiguity, which enabled angry spirits to become deities. Thus, the spectrum also involved the category of humans in that sense. All of these cosmologies, however, basically follow the simple division between heaven and earth, and the human microcosm as opposed to the macrocosm that incorporated the invisible spheres, which leads back to the original cosmic relations and the notions of an anthropocentric universe. As the examination of the primary sources has demonstrated, the way in which these entities were thought to have an effect on the realm depended on their position in the hierarchy, which also determined the scope of their influence and which people they could affect specifically.

5.3 Modes of interpretation

Either physical symptoms or natural phenomena prompted the application of meta-physical forces and entities to certain events, which usually followed predetermined patterns. It has also been established that there were certain types of physical or psychological symptoms that were strongly associated with such concepts as *mononoke* and *jaki*.²¹² The deities' wishes could also be

²¹² See Ueno, *Yume to mononoke no seishinshi*, 125-130 for a list of symptoms.

expressed through divination, or in the form of dreams and oracles. Based on the established cause the appropriate countermeasures would be undertaken depending on the category of the cause, which evokes the passage of the *Honchō monzui* and the need to perform the rituals proper to each category.²¹³ Thus, this chain of procedures is an expression of the episteme and represents one of the fundamental modes of communication between humans and deities.

These keywords could only be applied within the specific discourse of maintaining harmonious relations between heaven and earth, and the detailed prescriptions on how to react to anomalous events display a set of parameters within which there was only a limited degree of flexibility. The accepted modes of interpretation were based on precedents and ritual responses that had previously proved to be efficacious under similar conditions. This way of encountering the invisible realm and the forces it emitted is reminiscent of the general ritualization in all aspects of life at the Heian court²¹⁴ and describes an elementary mode of action and reaction. This, in turn, relates to the episteme as that which generates specific interpretational patterns and ways of perceiving the world.

While effects of meta-physical entities were often interpreted as admonishments and punishments for immoral behaviour, they not only drew attention to a specific deity or entity, but also the institution it was affiliated with, be it a school of thought, a type of ritual practice, or a socio-political body. If it was suggested in a divinatory report that a specific shrine was causing trouble, it can be assumed that it was the institution itself that was looking for more financial support and attention from the court. Unusual events or calamities presented convenient excuses for certain institutions to put their names forward as an explanation. This would mean that either those performing the divinations

²¹³ See “Constructing a small shrine for the deities”, *Kokushi Taikei*, vol. 29, vol. 2, 60-61.

²¹⁴ See Miller, “The State as Liturgical Community”.

and other participants in the discussion were aware of complaints or deficiencies in certain areas, or that networks of agents and affiliations or various groups were vying for power and promoting their own institutions in order to secure their positions. Consequently, the system could be exploited as long as the socio-political actors moved within the prescribed boundaries and constraints and adhered to the dominant modes of interpretation. An examination of those participating in the ritual context will form the basis for the third chapter.

The examination of the keywords based on the primary source material has served to provide various differentiations between categories with their individual characteristics and to reproduce, in its outlines, the hierarchy according to which the invisible realm was configured. The typological features of the intermediary entities associated with the keywords serve to demarcate certain boundaries within the invisible realm. Far from representing a simplistic association with the notion of evil spirits, they fulfilled important functions of differentiation and clarification within Heian-period cosmology and provided a vital link with the human sphere based upon which communication took place.

Two overarching categories, namely *mono* and *kami*, need to be postulated for the invisible realm, which were differentiated on various levels and embody the fundamental symmetry between *yin* and *yang*, good and evil, and the necessity of reinforcing a harmonious balance, while maintaining a sense of unity and ambivalence. Furthermore, this differentiation is inherent in the term *kishin*, since the character for *oni* was originally read as *mono* and embodies similar notions in the Heian period. While the deities of the heavens were associated with *yang*, those entities belonging to the category of *mono*, signified by 鬼 also in the continental tradition, constituted the embodiment of *yin* energy, which

represents a concept that emerges clearly from Heian-period essays. This dualism was also applied to the conception of the human soul, since the *yang* soul, or *kon*, was thought to rise up to heaven after death, and the *yin* soul, or *haku*, remained on earth with the body, which implies that all humans are composed of this fundamental balance and contain a divine aspect.

This basic distinction provides the foundation for the configuration of the hierarchy of beliefs, which can be conceived of in terms of a “supernatural” bureaucracy. The more important the deities were in terms of their socio-political significance for the ruling elite and the imperial family, the higher they ranked within the bureaucracy, which means that they were further removed from the human realm and required intermediary entities to communicate. *Mokke* and *tatari*, which occurred mostly in the macrocosm of nature, display a particularly strong connection with the *jingi*, while *jaki* could also transmit information relating to the deities by mirroring the disruption of natural harmony within the human body. The keywords portrayed important epistemological processes by drawing attention to potential dangers, thus ultimately benefitting the populace, and helped to organise the invisible realm. All of them were associated with ideas concerning ritual pollution and impurity, which signifies an overabundance of negative energies, which corresponds to the basic division between *kami* and *mono*. They constitute the disruption of harmony by embodying the *yin* energy that has come to dominate over *yang* based on human moral. Indeed, all human failures in the Heian period seem to be measured against a backdrop of an ideal order in which the relations between the microcosm and macrocosm are perfectly maintained.

The identification of anomalies generated specific procedures relating to the correct response to such events and appropriate countermeasures. The configuration of these various types of belief and their applications, as well as the Chinese modes of thought that impacted Japanese interpretations, can only be

explained by positing an episteme as a fundamental paradigm that prescribed interpretational patterns, restrictions, and modes of action. In a similar vein, connected to the discourse on power, a number of examples have hinted at a special connection between the *jingi* cult and the imperial family in opposition to regular courtiers, whose writings display a stronger emphasis on Buddhism, which has become most apparent in the discussion of the essays. Moreover, the prominence of notions surrounding the Northern Dipper, Taiichi and Myōken as the deity of the Pole Star as symbols of imperial rule, further underline a preoccupation with networks of meaning that could verify and solidify the ruler's supremacy.

Chapter 3: The ritual context and the manipulation of the episteme

In the previous chapter I have demonstrated that the notions associated with the four keywords, which were assigned to the category of *mono*, served to structure the invisible realm and maintain a conscious distinction between *mono* and the category of *kami*. This distinction is mirrored in the application of the correlative forces of *yin* and *yang*, which were related to ambiguous entities and heavenly deities respectively, just as the human soul was thought to consist of this dual aspect. This chapter seeks to examine the functions of these meta-physical beliefs in the ritual context and on the socio-political level, which ties into questions of power, competing factions, and the involvement of ritual institutions. It will further demonstrate that not only did the application of such beliefs determine ritual procedures, but the episteme was also consciously manipulated so that such notions were employed as a socio-political strategy to secure material benefit for ritual institutions and consolidate positions of power. They thus hint at hidden networks operating in the background based on underlying agreements between certain factions and ritual institutions to benefit each other mutually by exploiting the explanatory paradigm in terms of the deities' wrath.

As encoded messages, the presence of these keywords often indicated a form of communication initiated by the deities, which will be explored in more detail in the next chapter. They formed part of the explanatory paradigm that was needed in order for this type of communication to take place. These explanations were used to draw attention to particular ritual institutions, in most cases one or more of the official twenty-two shrines. They would then receive ritual attention and offerings, which benefitted those affiliated with the shrine. The conscious separation of these categories can tell us more about the groups in power at the time, their objectives and strategies used to consolidate and enforce their power.

The main issues that this chapter will address involve the structure of the ritual context based on the application of meta-physical entities to specific situations and the exploitation of these explanatory patterns for mundane ends. At the height of Fujiwara dominance, Michinaga appropriated certain explanatory patterns that to some extent had already been present in Japan from the inception of the *ritsuryō* state and mostly centred on the imperial family, in collaboration with a network of ritual institutions that were well-disposed to his leadership. When the clan's dominance gradually declined throughout the second half of the eleventh century, the retired emperors seem to have built on this strategy and made it their own in order to establish a position of power for themselves. It seems as if they sought to secure their claim to authority in meta-physical terms in addition to the various other socio-political measures they undertook.

It has further emerged that Buddhism and the native *jingi* cult were consciously assigned different roles, with the former protecting the latter meta-physically and, by extension, ensuring the stability of the Heian-period state. Most scholarship on the Heian period tends to emphasise the importance of Buddhism due to the immensely powerful Buddhist institutions at the time, but it appears that the central discourse was focussed on the *jingi* cult in relation to the *tennō* and the most powerful clans. Within the ritual context of these particular keywords, it is mostly the *jingi* or entities belonging to the category of *mono* that are in need of pacification, while Buddhist deities are invoked in order to restore harmony. Cases in which Buddhist deities need to be pacified are extremely rare and, as mentioned previously, the one example found in the primary sources fulfilled special criteria,¹ namely being associated with the position of the ruler in Buddho-Daoist cosmology and its cosmic associations. I

¹ This was an example relating to the deity Myōken from 999 mentioned in Chapter 2. See *Gonki*, 95.

argue in this chapter that based on the ritual context, Buddhism takes on a supporting role, while the *jingi* cult provided the legitimising body and formed the core of the body politic.

The first half of this chapter will focus on the particular features of the ritual context, while the second half will examine two case studies that will serve to demonstrate how patterns used to manipulate the episteme were appropriated by different groups.

1. The ritual corpus

One of the important features of ritual is its repetitive nature. Through each performance certain beliefs are put into practice and their relevance and significance are renewed and reaffirmed. Whilst purportedly providing protection against misfortune and illness, these types of ritual serve to legitimise and underline the importance of the meta-physical beliefs under consideration in this thesis. In terms of events with national implications, it is necessary to consider who the main target of misfortune was, especially in the cases of severe illness. This can reveal more about the status of certain individuals and the ways in which positions of power were consolidated, as this chapter will demonstrate.

Among the various types of ritual, such as those conducted on a regular basis according to fixed schedules (proactive), or those performed for special occasions, such as the enthronement ceremony,² the rituals of interest for this thesis are those that were requested in very specific conditions (reactive). Namely, rituals that sought to restore harmonious relations between the meta-physical and physical realms and remove evil influences after a calamitous event

² For descriptions of such rites see Naumann, "The State Cult of the Nara and Early Heian Periods", especially 52-63. On the enthronement ceremony specifically, see Bock, Felicia G. "The Great Feast of the Enthronement". *Monumenta Nipponica* 45/1 (1990): 27-38.

or serious illness had emerged. Such rituals presented a response to an element of “unwanted” meta-physical interference based on human shortcomings. This, in turn, implied that the two realms were out of balance and that a ritual response was required. Thus, we must distinguish carefully between the various physical and meta-physical participants in these situations and between those who act and those who react. In many of the examples that fulfil these criteria, there is a clear allocation of roles between those deities that are responsible for a calamitous event and need to be pacified – in most cases the *jingi* – and those who are invoked to provide protection or heal the patient – often of a Buddhist nature.

Due to the inherent nature of ritual, these specific types were governed by, and served to promote, a specific set of epistemological processes grounded in an underlying paradigm. It is thus necessary to define first of all how ritual is to be understood in this context and to examine how rituals established relations not only between concepts, as analysed in the previous chapter, but also between certain groups and institutions. This association of certain meta-physical categories with the socio-political background through ritual will present the main focus of this chapter. An analysis of individual examples reveals underlying networks of agents that reflect political interests. These networks consisted of those who commissioned the divinations, those who provided the explanations, as well as the deities that caused misfortune and the meta-physical entities that were summoned for various purposes and their respective institutional ties.

1.1 Defining “ritual”

The term “ritual” has been defined in innumerable ways, so that a definitive conceptualisation remains elusive. However, it is important to recognise that any definition must always be dependent on at least such factors as the cultural context, the historical era and the dominant power structures. One of the most

important components of ritual is, as Bell notes, to “reintegrate the dichotomy of ritual and mental categories”, which is represented by the transition from the second chapter to the third chapter in this thesis.³ In the account that follows I will attempt to portray how the beliefs surrounding meta-physical entities as part of Heian-period cosmology were put into practice and grouped in structured relationships through ritual. Through this process such beliefs were constantly reinforced and kept alive as valid modes of interpretation.

In terms of temporal punctuation, ritual first of all serves to structure the human experience⁴ and the annual cycle of the seasons through rites of passage and calendrical rituals. Human activity had to be coordinated with these cycles in order to keep the cosmos in motion, which also provided the basis for the reading of natural portents, the recognition of unusual events, and divination. As noted earlier, the observance and conscientious performance of rituals were of utmost importance to the elite groups in the Heian period. In this sense, ritual also mediated between nature and culture in pre-modern Japan. Nature, in this case, can also be equated with beliefs held about another world or invisible realm, which were thought to manifest themselves in visible or tangible ways. Natural phenomena that could not be explained were integrated into the worldview, which represented a set of ordered relations, through ritual and could thus apply cultural modes of interpretation to such events. Rituals could thus function as heuristic tools by creating a collective reality and imposing cultural schemes on the order of nature in an attempt to exert control over it.⁵

There are two main categories of rituals that are of interest, since they were consciously separated. The first is the category of rituals that were performed according to a fixed schedule, while the second is represented by

³ Bell, Catherine. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, 20. I should note that some of her work is indebted to Mary Douglas’s ideas and that she provides perceptive summaries of Douglas’s main points.

⁴ Miller, “Ritsuryō Japan”.

⁵ Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 94-103.

spontaneous rites that were performed *ad hoc* in reaction to specific events. This first category can be exemplified by the ritual procedures as they were laid down in the *Engi shiki* 延喜式,⁶ for instance, and found expression in the *nenjū gyōji* 年中行事, the customary observances held throughout the year. While the former upholds and revitalises the natural order, the latter restores it, which implies that the ideal order and balanced relations had been disrupted. The rituals that were aimed at the restoration of the equilibrium can be subdivided further into those that were commonly performed to counteract expected disruptions, such as ritual pollution, and those that helped to manage unforeseen circumstances. It is this second category that will be of interest here as a reaction to illnesses and calamities. The prominence of this particular set of rites in relation to disordered situations indicates one of the most important functions of ritual, namely its ability to provide “structured relationships, interconnecting systems, and classificatory taxonomies”.⁷ Based on Douglas’s views, I have already discussed in the previous chapter how anomalies were a necessary part in the creation of an ordered experience and how ritual functioned to demarcate lines between normal events and those of an inexplicable nature by setting boundaries. This organising function of ritual will be discussed in the first half of this chapter, while I will focus on the effects of ritual on the social structure and construction of knowledge on a second level in the second half of this chapter.

It has emerged from the second chapter that the categories of *mono* and *kami* were consciously separated in ritual. With each performance of the rituals that served to counteract such invisible threats and each divination that assigned

⁶ A compilation of customs and regulations begun by Fujiwara no Tokihira 藤原時平 (871-909) and completed in 927 by his brother, Fujiwara no Tadahira 藤原忠平 (880-949), author of the *Teishinkōki*. See Miller, “Ritsuryō Japan”, 108-111 for an excerpt of the text and, for a complete translation of the first 5 books, Bock, Felicia G. *Engi-Shiki: Procedures of the Engi Era (Books I-V)*. Tokyo: Sophia University, 1970-1972.

⁷ Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 46.

such concepts to certain events, the relations between the categories and the notions contained within them were renewed and kept alive within the collective reality that was shared by the Heian-period elite. If ritual is understood as the means through which beliefs were put into practice, ritual in Heian Japan thus takes on the function of articulating and maintaining the taxonomy of the invisible that was drawn on as a repertoire of possible explanations. Ritual denotes “a series of actions performed according to a precise order”⁸ and is intrinsically characterised by such features as “formality, fixity, and repetition”,⁹ through which systematic patterns are created. This process constituted the primary means of structuring the worldview and allocating a fixed position and function to the variety of cosmological notions in taxonomical and hierarchical schemes. Ritual, as a mechanism, must be seen to be grounded in the episteme, since it emerges from, and is shaped by, the basic principles set out in it. However, it simultaneously serves to dynamically maintain and, at times, restructure this fundamental paradigm due to its repetitive nature and its ties with socio-political institutions.

It is necessary to point out that based on this understanding of ritual, there is no need to assign it any religious value. As I have set out previously, the Heian-period belief systems and officially acknowledged institutions that collectively generated knowledge about the world must be seen to intersect on the same level. Various behaviours that characterise this particular period in the history of Japan could be seen to constitute rituals or ritualistic conduct, as life at the court was regulated down to the minor details and found expression in the ideal of *miyabi* 雅. It was the period in which form prevailed over function and the study of precedents represented the only viable means of determining the appropriate

⁸ OED <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/ritual> Accessed: 2018/12/12.

⁹ Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 91.

response to a situation.¹⁰ Often translated as “courtly refinement”, *miyabi* represented the principle of subtlety and elegance as a cultural and aesthetic ideal, such as being able to respond to situations with the appropriate sensibility and express oneself gracefully through skilfully crafted poetry. In the close confines of the Heian court, this society was focussed on its own activities and paid close attention to the behaviour and conduct of its members, as we know from the courtly tale literature.¹¹ Shirane understands *miyabi* as a public expression of “social and ritualistic forms of beauty and elegance” that was centred on the court and was an expected mode of behaviour in those in the highest positions. Aesthetic refinement was thus a further aspect that could contribute to the consolidation of political power and social communication became a highly refined aesthetic mode.¹² In fact, Michinaga, who represents the epitome of Fujiwara dominance, cultivated an aura of magnificence and splendour which impressed his contemporaries.¹³

In his article on the *ritsuryō* ideal of the state as liturgical community, Miller sees the realisation of this ideal in the elaboration of court ritual and ritualistic living. The “rule of taste” should be seen as a symptom of the underlying centrality of ritual that expresses the emphasis placed on formality.¹⁴ Based on the intersection of belief and knowledge in the Heian period and the role of ritual

¹⁰ If something unusual happened, the expression *furei* 不例 was often used, indicating that there was no precedent. See, for instance, *Chūyūki*, vol. 2, 191: 女院近日有不例御事. When matters were performed according to precedent, the character 例 would be included, as in “the offerings were presented according to precedent” (例幣也, *Chūyūki*, vol. 2, 259). Blair notes that “when a diarist commented on somebody else’s action, ‘There is no precedent,’ it was a decided criticism” and that the phrase *furei* 不例 came to refer directly to “illness” or “sickness”. *Real and Imagined*, 108.

¹¹ Varley, Paul H. *Japanese Culture*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 60; Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince*, 154-187.

¹² Shirane Haruo. *The Bridge of Dreams: A Poetics of the 'Tale of Genji'*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987, 30-35.

¹³ Blair, *Real and Imagined*, 109.

¹⁴ Miller, “Ritsuryō Japan”, 101, 118, 120. He uses the example of the Key Ceremony to illustrate his point, which describes a complicated set of procedures and formulas to receive the key to open and close the gates of the imperial palace each day, while the appointed official already possesses the key in the first place, which is locked in a chest. See 117-118.

in generating and maintaining certain forms of belief and knowledge, we must recognise the importance of ritual schemes. The institutions involved with this particular sphere and the production of a coherent cosmology were founded upon certain traditions of thought and practice, and their ritual attention was primarily directed at the court. However, due to the competition between various institutions to maintain favour with the court, they also strived to appropriate certain ritual schemes within certain boundaries, as later examples will demonstrate. While ritual could serve to condition individual perceptions and human conduct and to enable the participants of a certain group or society to participate in a collective reality, as a strategy and a self-conscious process, it could also be manipulated to attain more mundane ends.

Since many phenomena in nature did not display visible processes that could be readily understood, cultural elements were applied that could make such events intelligible from a meta-physical point of view. Ritual could mediate between these opposed orders and, by extension, between the meta-physical and physical realms, due to its ability to convert “beliefs about another world into facts about this one and vice versa”.¹⁵ This could be achieved through the synchronic nature of ritual that could draw on a rich past without undergoing too much transformation.¹⁶ Furthermore, its repetitive and performative nature confirmed the validity of the explanations and interpretations suggested by the ritual specialists, especially when their rituals were efficacious. In the account that follows, I will demonstrate how the performance of rituals to counteract the evil influences emitted by both the categories of *mono* and *kami* were orchestrated as socio-political acts. Through the construction of a ritual space, the patient, practitioner, medium and audience were brought together in an indirect dialogue, which was influenced by underlying tensions. Not only does

¹⁵ Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 194.

¹⁶ Belliger, Andréa, Krieger, David J (eds.). *Ritualtheorien*. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien, 2003, 38.

this mean that ritual served to uphold the world order and its cultural expression, but the prescribed relations within which these ritual events took place also formed boundaries that provided room for criticism, manipulation and negotiation.

When inexplicable events occurred, cosmological and socio-political concerns became intertwined, as these rituals were always directed at a specified target, namely deified entities. Ritual was thus also one of the primary means of communicating with the other realm and the only means by which a state of equilibrium could be re-established. Situations that involved the *kami* as the cause of misfortune must thus be clearly separated from the types of deities that were invoked for protection. As noted earlier, Buddhist deities rarely had to be appeased or were made responsible for calamities. This demarcation describes a perceived difference between these two types of discourse, namely one that had arrived in Japan as a fully formed cosmology and obeyed its own rules of causation in which each individual was responsible for his or her own fate. The other had evolved in relation to the Japanese imperial family and could be seen to censor certain types of behaviour, especially in relation to socio-political objectives and as a means for those in power to uphold their status, in the guise of divine wrath.¹⁷

1.2 The structure of ritual

If we understand ritual as the mechanism through which beliefs were put into practice, it becomes necessary to examine how meta-physical beliefs structured

¹⁷ Although this particular topic would lead beyond the confines of this thesis, it would be of particular interest to examine Tenmu Tennō's 天武天皇 (631-686) role in establishing the *jingi* discourse, as he was the one to initiate the myths and practices that would come to define the position of the *tennō*.

the ritual context and how, in turn, their assignment to certain phenomena continuously affirmed their significance. Since many of the examples under consideration bear political connotations, it seems reasonable to assume that the ritual structures were consciously appropriated for more mundane ends. To that end, I would like to evaluate the various elements that comprise the ritual structure and their potentially ambiguous roles in order to delineate the boundaries in which manipulations of the structure based on the episteme could operate. This section will thus help to further determine the purpose of metaphysical beliefs on the cosmological and socio-political level and their dynamic relation to rituals.

I would first of all like to consider the difference between counteracting influences from the category of *mono*, which mostly took the form of an illness or appeared during childbirth, and those that emanated from the wrath of the *kami*, which could be manifested through an intermediary entity as an illness or epidemic, or as a natural calamity. In the first case, a ritual space would be created near the patient in which rites of exorcism would be performed, whereas in the second case, generalised countermeasures would be undertaken at a variety of locations. These could include sutra recitations at one or more temples, offerings to shrines that, in most cases, were included in the twenty-two shrines system, and purification ceremonies. Hence, *mono* and *kami* were categorically distinguished as concepts in terms of their effects and in ritual as well, which is further evidence of the taxonomy put forward in the previous chapter.

The specialised rituals that were employed to exorcise evil influences stemming from the category of *mono*, namely *kaji* and *shuhō*, were not supposed to be performed when the *kami* were thought to be involved in an event. Since they were of an esoteric Buddhist nature, they seem to have been incompatible

with services performed for the *kami* and could anger them further.¹⁸ This categorical distinction also reveals an underlying tension between Buddhism and, as it seems, the *jingi* beliefs that were cultivated amongst those in positions of power. Consequently, it must be assumed that the meta-physical realm, whilst constituting the overarching cosmology and understanding of the world, was simultaneously a means to generate political legitimacy due to its symbolic nature.

The various contexts that involve the occurrence of *mono* point to a very specific sequence of events. First, when a person became ill,¹⁹ ritual specialists were summoned in order to perform either a divination or the ritual of *kaji* so that the cause of the illness could be determined. These practitioners would usually include Buddhist monks, also referred to as *genja* 験者²⁰ in these contexts, *onmyōji*, and medical doctors (*ishi* 医師), which points to a more or less clearly articulated division of tasks among them. Divinations were usually performed by *onmyōji* or officials of the Jingikan, who also conducted purification ceremonies, whereas the monks presided over the rituals of exorcism in these cases and provided sutra recitations and various other Buddhist ceremonies in matters of great importance to the court. When the appropriate rituals had been performed, the officiating specialist would transfer the evil influence onto a medium (*yorimashi* 憑座), who, having lost consciousness and become possessed by the

¹⁸ Shigeta goes so far as to say that the *kami* dislike Buddhism, which may be making a claim that is a bit too bold, as sutra recitations were deemed to be perfectly acceptable. However, it does point to the tension between the *jingi* discourse and other types of belief and the associated categorisation of countermeasures. *Heian kizoku to onmyōji*, 165: “神は仏法を嫌うという平安貴族の理解からすれば、疫病を治療するために、あるいは、疫病を患う妊婦の出産を助けるために、加持のような仏法を背景とする呪術を用いたりすれば、それによって神の祟を受けることになりかねなかったのである。”

¹⁹ Usually a high-ranking member of the court, otherwise the proceedings of such events would not have been recorded.

²⁰ For more information on the role of *genja* in Heian society, see Shigeta, *Heian kizoku to onmyōji*, 100.

influence, could then be questioned and, in some cases, state the cause and their identity.²¹ The evil influence then needed to be exorcised from the body of the medium, whereupon, depending on the efficacy of the ritual, the patient would recover. As very often such illnesses functioned to draw attention to an underlying issue, it was then of utmost importance to rectify the situation that had caused an offence.²² This sequence of events constitutes the general structure, although there are many variations in the primary sources and not all of these steps were necessarily performed or mentioned as part of an accepted procedure.

In the ninth month of 1077, for example, the crown prince was very ill. Since this was during the reign of Emperor Shirakawa, we can assume that the crown prince referred to was Kakugyō Hosshinō 覚行法親王 (Prince Atsufumi; 1075-1105), as he was the only one of his sons to have been born prior to the event. It was discovered that his illness was due to *jaki* based on the fact that it attached itself to another person (the medium) while a monk was reciting the *Lotus Sutra* next to the patient. The medium then revealed that the illness was due to the *tatari* stemming from the shrines of Gion and Kibune. However, a variety of circumstances, namely the death of a member of the court, had also prevented the usual performance of the purification ceremony and the offering of lamps. In order to rectify the situation, a yellow cow was presented as an offering to Gion shrine and copper ornaments and a silver dragon were presented to Kibune. Furthermore, silk and horses for the *kami* were offered to various shrines (Iwashimizu, Kamo, Hirano, Inari, Kasuga, Ōharano, Gion and Kibune) that were officially ranked in the twenty-two shrines system. This example attests to the material significance of these offerings that would not only benefit

²¹ Koyama, *Shinran no Shinkō to Jujutsu*, 15; Komatsu *Hyōrei Shinkōron*, 238.

²² Komatsu, *Hyōrei shinkōron*, 238-239.

the shrine and its officials, but also the clans affiliated with it as well as the local community.²³

It seems reasonable to conclude that explanations involving meta-physical entities that were of vital importance to the cosmos and could be applied to physical bodies and locations, would be exploited as a socio-political strategy by individuals as well as institutions, as it ensured ritual and material attention. In essence, such incidents were a way of making sure that certain shrines and their affiliated members were acknowledged by the court. It was furthermore a strategy to (re-)establish their ties with the imperial court at the centre. If performing efficacious rituals and providing ritual services for the protection of the state consolidated the value of the Buddhist institutions in the eyes of the court and promoted competition among them, then the manipulation of the symbolic realm represented by the taxonomy of meta-physical entities appears to be one of the means through which shrines could compete for imperial favour and secure their financial basis.²⁴ The Buddhist temples and officials had to provide services, while the shrines received attention.

²³ *Suisaki* 45-46: second day: 若宮御惱不宜御云々、相尋可左右也者、未剋許永義闍梨於御前誦法華經、此間邪氣附人忽然云、祇園貴布禰等御崇云々、入夜勘解由次官知綱為殿御使來、雖為物忌予於東侍所相遇、御消息云、主上明日可令修御燈御祓給也、…

third day: 早旦奉黃牛一頭於祇園、御前御心地之間有御崇之故也、已剋許參博陸殿、所惱之後今日初所參入也、… 此日依若宮御惱、被奉幣帛神馬等於所社、石清水、賀茂、平野、稻荷、春日、大原野、祇園、貴布禰、…

²⁴ Ritual constituted the main means to consolidate power by enacting authority through the use of symbols, as can be demonstrated in the case of Michinaga, who established signature rites and ritual procedures, such as the thirty lectures on the *Lotus Sutra* or the burying of sutra manuscripts on Kinpusen, at strategic locations. See Blair, *Real and Imagined*, 110-113. In the case of the retired emperors, Bauer also notes that “the retired emperors attempted to oversee and extend their influence over all major Buddhist institutions by uniting them in one ritual micro-sphere, symbolising the unity of public law and Buddhist law, or Dharma”, “Conflating Monastic and Imperial Lineage”, 257. By gaining ritual attention, certain ritual institutions could assert their importance for the state. Kinpusen, for instance, rose to prominence during the tenth century as a pilgrimage site and became a major ritual site connected to the Fujiwara through Michinaga’s efforts and took on political significance. However, under Shirakawa, Kinpusen declined as he chose Kumano as his main pilgrimage site in effort to distance himself from the period of Fujiwara dominance. Such strategies reflect the political significance of the way in which meta-physical beliefs were employed methodically through ritual and used to receive attention. See Blair, *Real and Imagined*, 4-15.

Despite the identification of the cause, the imperial prince's condition declined the following day. For this reason, the *kanpaku*, at the time Fujiwara no Morozane 藤原師実 (1042-1101), ordered the performance of lectures on the *Ninnō-kyō* by one hundred monks to serve as prayers for the crown prince. The *onmyōji* Kamo no Dōei 賀茂道榮 (dates unknown) performed a divination in order to determine whether rituals for Kannon 觀音 would be auspicious or not. There was some discord over this matter so that they were only continued until the evening. As the condition of the crown prince had deteriorated significantly, the ritual for the penitence of sins (*senbō* 懺法) was held, which informs us that a recovery of the prince seemed unlikely to those in attendance. Various performances of the *kikisai* 鬼気祭 took place, which, according to Shigeta, should be understood as a ritual to counteract influences from the category of *mono*. The same entry also tells us that there was a concurrent epidemic and that Ekijin was wandering about in the vicinity. The monk Ryōkyū 良久 (no information) came and five monks recited the scrolls of the *Heart Sutra* (Gyōson 行尊, Saikaku 齋覺, Eigi 永義, Ryōkaku 良覺, Eiyū 永有), while various *dhāraṇī* and spells were recited by the monks of the various mountains, i.e. the monasteries.²⁵ These countermeasures were undertaken against the *tatari*, which seems to have emerged as an explanation out of the circumstances.²⁶

On the first day of the illness, we can assume that a rite of exorcism in addition to the recitation of the *Lotus Sutra* had allowed the *jaki*, which functions as an intermediary entity, to be transferred onto a medium. The fact that the

²⁵ 六日：…此間諸山僧等滿尊勝陀羅尼呪, *Suisaki*, 46. The “mountains” could perhaps be seen to refer to temples on Mt. Hiei and Mt. Kōya as prominent ritual institutions of the time.

²⁶ *Suisaki* 45-46: fourth day: 御心地頗宜、今日博陸行百座仁王講云云、是若宮御祈云云、…自今夜欲始觀音供、而令道榮占其吉区之處、申不快之由、仍今夜止了、懺法如常、入夜若宮頗令苦給云云、今夜修鬼氣祭…

illness became worse and that it was subsequently ascribed to the workings of a malevolent wandering deity, indicates dissent among the ritual specialists regarding the cause. Moreover, the marked increase in Buddhist practitioners performing the ceremonies over the following days could be read as a type of intervention and an attempt to draw the attention to themselves. The rituals targeting Ekijin seem to have fallen into the domain of Buddhist monks and their expertise, which presents us with two opposing causes, namely the *jingi* in the first instance, and the wandering deity, seemingly counteracted through Buddhist measures, in the second. This example could thus serve to demonstrate the underlying tensions between the two dominant institutions that were intimately involved with the protection and maintenance of the centre and, in meta-physical terms, the cosmos. Socio-political concerns and ambitions were thus fought out in the meta-physical and symbolic realm, as long as such strategies operated within the commonly accepted boundaries provided by the episteme.

When *kaji* was performed, a ritual space was created around the patient, which set up the relations between the patient, practitioner, medium and audience, who faced an equally organised set of meta-physical entities, which included a variety of benevolent and malevolent deities. In most cases, *kaji* and *shuhō* were performed simultaneously, since *kaji* were often included in the latter ceremony. The main difference was that *kaji* were usually performed directly beside the patient, while the *shuhō* necessitated a specially built altar at one or more temples and involved the ritual of the Five Altars (*godanhō* 五壇法) which was dedicated to the Five Wisdom Kings (*godai myōō* 五大明王).²⁷

The *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* provides us with detailed information on the setup of such rituals in the case of Empress Shōshi 彰子, the eldest daughter of

²⁷ Taniguchi, “Heian kizoku no shippei ninshiki to jiryōhō”, 73-74.

Michinaga, who was giving birth to the later Emperor Go-Ichijō. Various sections of the ritual space were curtained off in order to separate the participants with different roles from each other. The empress was moved to the backroom to the east of which her ladies-in-waiting were seated. Below this the women acting as mediums were located, who were individually separated and enclosed by curtains. An exorcist was placed at the entrance of each of these sections and if a member of the audience became possessed unexpectedly, they were also hidden behind screens. Presumably, the screens were set up as a precaution to prevent the influence from moving to another person. Between these screens and the empress, it seems that over forty people tried to squeeze into that narrow space, which indicates the number of observers attending these events and the performative nature of the rituals that were designed to expel evil influences.²⁸ Towards the other end of the room, the high-ranking monks (*ajari* 阿闍梨) were seated on mats, and, based on the *Kinpishō* 禁秘抄, it can be assumed that the assistant monks were sitting at the ends of these rows.²⁹ The ritual space became the stage on which they could showcase their powers and the efficacy of their rituals through which they were able to gain support and receive benefits.

According to Komatsu, it was the higher-ranking monks who generally performed the *shuhō*, as well as the Five Altars Ritual, sutra recitations and lectures, while the lower-ranking monks, namely the *genja*, were responsible for the *kaji* rituals and the prayers (*kitō* 祈祷).³⁰ This is supported by the *Kinpishō*, which defines the roles of each of these practitioners in these situations. If the

²⁸ Koyama, *Shinran no shinkō to jujutsu*, 12-15. Murasaki Shikibu. *The Diary of Lady Murasaki*. Translated by Richard Bowring. London: Penguin Books, 2005, 8-9. For the original text, see the tenth and eleventh days of the ninth month, 1008:

<http://jti.lib.virginia.edu/japanese/murasaki/nikki/MurMura.html> Accessed: 2019/02/28.

²⁹ The *Kinpishō* is a document concerning the ancient customs and etiquette, written by Juntoku Tennō in 1221. 26th scroll, miscellaneous, 378, <https://japanknowledge-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk> Accessed: 2018/12/15.

³⁰ Komatsu, *Hyōrei shinkōron*, 238. Koyama, *Shinran no shinkō to jujutsu*, 13.

genja were in charge of the exorcisms, the *onmyōji*, besides performing divinations, were also summoned for purification ceremonies and various astral rites.³¹ However, the *Kinpishō* states that not more than two or three *sukuyōji* 宿曜師 or *onmyōji* respectively, were allowed to be present.³² It seems as if officials of the Jingikan only performed divinations in cases of national importance, which is often when the Jingikan and the Onmyōryō provided divinations for the *konrō no miura*, which was performed in the corridor of the palace. This division of tasks also allows us to infer that Buddhist monks were the only ones in possession of the strategies needed to exorcise evil influences in cases of illness and childbirth. Similarly, whenever the *tennō* or other prominent courtiers were ill, no expenses would be spared in providing the appropriate sutra recitations at various shrines and temples, and other rituals, which usually involved hundreds to thousands of monks. This indicates the vast human and material resources that were made available for the restoration of balanced relations, whether mundane or in relation to the meta-physical realm, and drew the periphery in to support the centre.³³

The one element that these various practitioners have in common, despite their different backgrounds and institutional ties, is the fact that they were in possession of the knowledge that could restore a state of order and balanced relations. These ritual specialists, as Bell refers to them, were in a position to assert and maintain their authority through ritual, by mediating between the visible and invisible realms and demonstrating the efficacy of their methods.³⁴ Furthermore, since they were regarded as the experts on the relations with the invisible world and the strategies that kept the world in order, they were

³¹ Drakakis, "Onmyōdō and Esoteric Buddhism", 686-688.

³² 又其外近代法親王ナド。其外奉仕御祈之僧。不可過一兩人。宿曜師不可過二三人。陰陽師又同。臨時ニハ雖濟々可被召。412-413.

³³ For instance, in the last example from 1077, valuable offerings were sent to eight shrines.

³⁴ Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 130-140.

ultimately the ones who enforced the generally accepted cosmology and put the episteme into practice, based upon which they had to operate within certain constraints.

Besides the courtiers, the practitioners were the other main class that was literate and there were significant areas of overlap between these two classes, since monks were often from an aristocratic background and imperial princes or other young nobles were sent to temples to become monks.³⁵ This close-knit group derived their authority and expertise from the fact that they could draw on recorded past events, especially precedents, and probably also legends concerning the history of their lineages. This gave the dominant agents the right to govern the representation of the past in order to formulate the nature of reality. Their authority stemmed from the relations of power so that they were able to define reality in a way that could legitimise their positions within that reality.³⁶ As we have seen, the ritual specialists in Heian Japan were the ones who provided the explanations when natural disasters or other calamities occurred – even though their interpretations could be contested to a certain degree by those who commissioned their services³⁷ – and continuously applied certain categories of belief to specific situations. They thus propagated a defined interpretative model and a specific worldview, which was continually reinforced and enacted through rituals.

According to Douglas, such a class of ritual specialists can only appear in stratified societies in which the social hierarchy is articulated to a high degree

³⁵ Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, 70-71. Grapard, "Institution, Ritual, and Ideology", 254.

³⁶ Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Logic of Practice*. Translated by Richard Nice. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990, 170-171.

³⁷ In her study of debates surrounding the correct interpretation of astronomical phenomena and the relationships between the diviners and the bureaucracy, Buhrman argues that the court nobility actively acquired knowledge of such phenomena and "proof-read" the reports made by the specialists in order to maintain control of the situation and ensure the accuracy of the information, which displays an element of distrust; 53-78. I have also noted such an instance in chapter 2, when Abe no Yoshihira changed the results of his divination upon hearing the doubts of his patron, Fujiwara no Sanesuke, in 1015. See *Shōyūki* vol. 4, 57-58.

and authority is maintained by those in official positions. Societies that fulfil these criteria are usually characterised by a high level of formality, which is represented by the emphasis placed on form over function in the Heian period, strict applications of principles of purity, stylised behaviour, and a wariness towards the loss of control.³⁸ This formality, in turn, can be linked to the institutions that the practitioners represent and the ways in which forms of control are developed. The more defined the structure of a society is, the more objectified the relations between humans become, in the form of official titles and positions, institutions, the development of a formal language, etc. The bestowal of a title brings with it special rights and a legitimate form of power that the official or ritual specialist can then exert over a specific group.³⁹ This objectification indicates that the knowledge and power needed to perform efficacious rituals resided in the office and not necessarily in the person of the specialist.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the personality and the ability to conduct convincing performances of individual specialists seems to have been of some importance to the Heian court – one need only consider such personages as Abe no Seimei 安倍晴明 (921-1005). Hence, “the development of a body of specialised agents who possess or control important mechanisms of objectification, such as ritual or educational institutions, is the development of a form of control that can be more total because it is more indirect and invisible.”⁴¹

³⁸ Douglas, Mary. *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*. London: Routledge, 2003, 86-87. Douglas's typologies may rest on generalisations, but since Heian Japan exhibits some of the features she isolates, they can be useful templates for correlating social organisation with ritual expertise and authority.

³⁹ Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, 171.

⁴⁰ Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 131, 134. Bell introduces the notion of “objectification” within its proper context, namely the Marxist discussion. However, this thesis will only take those notions into consideration that can benefit our understanding of Heian-period cosmology and its expression in social and political realities, as a complete discussion would fall outside the constraints of this study.

⁴¹ Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 131.

The ritual specialists we encounter in the primary sources are characterised by the fact that they all had at least one means, which in some cases could be a unique method, of determining the underlying cause of a misfortune or illness. Despite their affiliation with different traditions and institutions, this meant that no one group was ever predominant. The division of tasks suggests that their authority was defined and limited in certain ways and that there was room for criticism and judgment, which resulted in competition not only between different institutions but also among the specialists belonging to one particular institution. This meant that individual practitioners had to adhere to established models, which were sanctioned through the power invested in the office and its official recognition.⁴² They derived their authority from being able to mediate between the visible and invisible realms and their spiritual powers, which they used to communicate with meta-physical entities and expel those of a harmful nature. Thus, the organisation of ritual specialists appears as a self-regulating system that provided stability and enabled the retention of ritual power within the dominant institutions. Due to the different nature of the services they provided, no one group seems to have had complete control over a situation. Rather, each group contributed to the resolution of a crisis with their own specialised methods.⁴³

In Heian Japan we are generally presented with situations in which a variety of specialists from different institutions were summoned. This was due to

⁴² Ibid.: 134.

⁴³ We have already observed numerous examples in which different groups of ritual specialists were summoned in order to perform specific tasks. This is not to say that there was no competition among the groups or even within the groups, but, as Bell also notes (*Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 134), their authority rested on the efficacy of the tasks they performed, and the ultimate authority rested with the patron, who was free to dismiss the specialists if their methods yielded no results. In the *Osanburuiki*, on the first day of the sixth month of 1125, when Toba's son was born, it is said: "The monastery's *zasu* (Enryakuji) Ninjitsu and Daigoji's high priest Shōkaku have been summoned to offer prayers, but [their efforts] have not yet proved to be efficacious. We thus summoned the high priest Gyōson to perform prayers." (277) The specialists among one group, namely Buddhist monks, are replaced by a monk of the same group, who eventually, due to his request to perform *kaji*, manages to expel the evil influence.

the fact that none of the institutions was in a position to unify and provide all of the procedures required to counteract influences sent from the invisible realm, namely, prognostication, identification, interpretation, elimination, and restoration, which would have resulted in a monopoly of ritual power. Indeed, it seems as if this balance of expertise in particular methods was the only way in which the organisation of institutions was conceivable based on the country's history and emphasis placed on lineages and the structure of the state, which was received as a model from China and adapted to the Japanese situation.

This must then be related to the episteme as it generated the configurations that favoured a synthetic view of various traditions and a balance between ritual institutions rather than forms of ritual dominance. It is a tendency that is reflected in the Japanese disposition to establish *michi* 道 carried out through units called *ie* 家, namely specialised lineages in possession of a secret tradition and practices that it was their sole prerogative to perform.⁴⁴ If structures of organisation in the perceived and experienced world were mapped onto the invisible realm, as has been discussed previously, and if we accept that sociological truths were expressed in cosmological terms, especially through ritual,⁴⁵ then it can be assumed that a similar division of tasks can be observed among the meta-physical entities. This is exactly what led to the conjecture of a taxonomy arranged in a hierarchical structure in the previous chapter, based on the effects these respective forces were thought to have on the human realm.

One last participant to consider within the structure of ritual is the medium (*miko* 巫女 or 巫子), who represented the less official side of the spectrum, but was nevertheless a vital part of the process. Implicit in the word medium is

⁴⁴ For more information on the establishment and significance of *michi*, see Konishi, Jinichi. "Michi and Medieval Writing". *Principles of Classical Japanese Literature*, edited by Earl Miner, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985, 181-196.

⁴⁵ Bell's summary of one of Douglas's main insights, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 50.

the idea that they were in some way able to communicate with the invisible world. However, mediums in Heian-period sources are also characterised by a spontaneous nature, since members of the audience could also become possessed, which provided for an element of unpredictability. In most cases women, often lower-ranking court ladies, or young children acted as mediums and were sometimes employed by the *genja* or else acted independently.⁴⁶ Once it had been determined that the patient was suffering from an illness caused by an evil influence, the ritual specialists, namely the *genja*, would attempt to transfer the influence onto the specified medium. Since they were able to determine the entity that was causing an illness and establish its identity, they were in a position to influence the situation and the proceedings. Given their social standing and young age, it is not clear how aware they were of socio-political tensions and institutional ties at a given time or where their loyalties lay,⁴⁷ and it is quite possible that they were guided by the officiating monk.

Yet, a large proportion of the courts' residents were present at significant events and the explanations that were provided by the ritual specialists and mediums would have also had to satisfy the expectations of the audience. Due to their large numbers and the spontaneity of spirit possession, the audience received a small amount of power to affect the proceedings and represent the opinion of those in attendance, which illustrates the subversive potential of these gatherings.⁴⁸ The practitioners represented the authoritative aspect of ritual

⁴⁶ Ueno, *Yume to mononoke no seishinshi*, 138.

⁴⁷ As discussed below, some mediums managed to establish themselves within the religious community.

⁴⁸ The concept of spirit possession in relation to the abundance of vengeful spirits of those who had died due to political injustice is generally understood to have been able to provide an outlet for repressed opinions that did not conform to the official view. Ooms describes how the appearance of vengeful spirits was related to expressions of discontent and how official pacification ceremonies presented a situation in which criticisms could be voiced indirectly. The diviners' results may have thus been influenced by those in attendance. See *Imperial Politics and Symbolics*, 225-236. Borgen argues that the use of spirit possession in the *Genji monogatari* provided the female characters with a means to resist the constraints placed upon them by society. See *A Woman's Weapon*, 6-10.

power, whereas the actions performed by the mediums reflected local customs and popular beliefs as they were not officially recognised. This results in a tension between the official and non-official cults, which is mirrored in the categorical differentiation between *mono* and *kami*, and the positions of the *ajari* as opposed to the *genja*, who was responsible for the physical extraction of the forces emanating from the category of *mono*. As Bell notes, “those rites in which specialists preside are generally seen as more central, powerful, encompassing, and integral to the welfare of the whole than those that employ more locally skilled practitioners or none at all.”⁴⁹

Meeks has demonstrated, however, that the elites consciously sought to characterise mediums as low-ranking individuals and to constrain their activities, especially if they were not affiliated with officially sanctioned shrines.⁵⁰ Perhaps this was due to the fact that they carried out many of the services for the populace that the Buddhist priests also tried to provide, such as divinations, the healing of illnesses and protective spells. In fact, the *miko* managed to redefine their social and religious roles despite their loss of influence due to the systematisation of the shrines. They even became well-connected members of the religious community, who accumulated a certain degree of wealth and power.⁵¹ It would thus be wrong to assume that they were all completely unaware of their positions. Nevertheless, it also seems reasonable to conclude that the monks would have attempted to curb their influence.⁵² While we cannot clearly trace where the practical boundaries lay between the official domain of the court and the popular sphere

⁴⁹ Bell, 135.

⁵⁰ Minamoto Shitagō, author of the *Wamyō Ruijūshō*, and the monk Jien 慈円, author of the *Gukanshō* 愚管抄, portrayed them as “crazy” and “undesirable” in their works, alongside beggars and thieves. Meeks, Lori. “The Disappearing Medium: Reassessing the Place of *Miko* in the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan”. *History of Religions* 50/3 (2011), 213-216.

⁵¹ For more details, see Meeks, “The Disappearing Medium”, 217-260.

⁵² It would be interesting to analyse the dynamics between the monks and the mediums, but, unfortunately, the sources do not provide us with much information, as the procedures had become standardised to a high degree and received little attention when recorded.

that could be drawn upon if skilled practitioners were needed, it is interesting to trace the tension between the officially accepted cults and practices and those that were relegated to the periphery. It is obvious that some local practitioners, such as mediums, could traverse these boundaries when needed, but they were never credited with any significant contributions, which meant that they could be controlled in official situations.

Miyoshi Kiyoyuki includes a section on the ability of mediums to see invisible forces in his collection of tales titled *Zenke hiki* 善家秘記 [Secret Records of the Miyoshi Family],⁵³ which is what set them apart from other individuals. It seems that just like other ritual specialists, mediums liked to cultivate a mystical aura and showcase their close ties with the invisible realm. The title of the essay confirms that being able to see demons (鬼 *oni* or *mono*) was a skill that was taken as evidence of their powers (巫覡見鬼有徴驗記 “A verified account of signs that mediums have the ability to see demons”). Being widely known for their skills meant that they could secure their livelihood and garner attention from individuals who were affiliated with the official sphere. In 860, Kiyoyuki’s father was made protector of Awaji Province. However, two years later he became very ill. An old woman who had come from Awa Province, claimed that she could see demons (*mono*) and predict people’s lives and deaths. His mother asked her to attend to her husband. The old woman said “there is a naked *oni/mono* holding a hammer and he is facing the patient’s bedroom. There is also a man who is chastising the demon and trying to expel it. He has already tried this five or six times, day and night. Because this man resembles the patient’s tutelary deity, he should worship him properly.” Kiyoyuki’s father accordingly prayed to his tutelary deity and to this the old lady responded by saying, “the man has managed

⁵³ A collection of strange tales in the form of *setsuwa* compiled by Miyoshi Kiyoyuki between 910 and 918.

to expel the demon and transfer it beyond the gate, so this matter should now be resolved.” Soon after, his father recovered.⁵⁴

It seems that the general populace often turned to such mediums for help and that the nobility actively sought them out, as in these cases of spirit possession and prolonged illnesses, because of their mystical abilities. However, they were encountered with general scepticism by the authorities, who had to make sure that they did not become too powerful. This example further illustrates the dynamics between the influence causing the illness, who is in the vicinity of the patient, but not directly attached to him, and the benevolent tutelary entity who is providing protection.⁵⁵ It displays the presence of mediums in the lives of the nobility and that they were trusted to a certain degree to be able to present correct information on a situation that evaded common onlookers due to its transience. Nevertheless, the socio-political circumstances surrounding the roles of Buddhist monks and mediums, as Meeks describes them, point to an underlying tension between these two groups in particular. We must also distinguish between those mediums who were able to travel around the country freely to provide their services, such as the woman from Awa, and those who were specifically chosen by Buddhist monks in situations concerning members of the imperial family, as in Murasaki Shikibu’s diary. When certain crises turned into events that involved the whole court, the ritual space created by the monk and the interpretation of concealed messages became displays of human power over the natural world with its plethora of invisible forces.

⁵⁴ *Shoku Nihongi Kenkyū*, 30-33. 先君。貞觀二年出為淡路守。至于四年。忽疾病危篤。時有一老嫗自阿波國來云。能見鬼知人死生。時先妣引嫗侍病。嫗云。有裸鬼持椎、向府君臥處。於是丈夫一人怒追却此鬼。如此一日一夜五六度。此丈夫即似府君氏神、湏能祈氏神。於是先考如言祈禱氏神。嫗亦云。丈夫追裸鬼、令過阿波鳴渡既畢。是日先考平復安和。

⁵⁵ This is reminiscent of the concept of *gohō dōji* 護法童子, which will be discussed below, but expressed in an indigenous mode through ancestral deities. It further attests to the taxonomy of different categories of belief, as this tutelary deity can interfere with *mono*, while those of higher-ranking categories cannot intervene on the same level.

In the context of Heian Japan, the term *miko* is most often taken to refer to shrine maidens and their roles in the service of the deities as mediums.⁵⁶ However, the examples involving the performance of *kaji* have shown us that mediums were required for these rituals in order to identify the cause and expel the evil influence. We thus know that a specific type of *kaji* was employed in such situations, namely the *āveśa* (*abisha* 阿尾捨) method, which is a Sanskrit term that means “to possess” or “to take hold of” and involved the participation of child-mediums.⁵⁷ There is further evidence for this in the entry from *The Diary of Lady Murasaki* mentioned previously, as it is specifically mentioned that the ritual was being performed for Fudō Myōō 不動明王, the central deity of the Five Wisdom Kings.

Now that I have illustrated the structure of the ritual contexts involving illnesses and childbirth and discussed the roles of the various participants, I would like to examine the ritual procedures before moving on to the contexts that were ascribed to the *kami* and the associated ritual categories.

1.3 Ritual procedures

The normal procedure of *kaji* involved the invocation of Dainichi Nyōrai 大日如来 as the main object of worship, but this particular method of *kaji* required the

⁵⁶ Often translated as shaman, the term *miko* can more generally be said to refer to a person who can communicate with the other realm and function as a medium. See Blacker, Carmen. *The Catalpa Bow: A Study in Shamanistic Practices in Japan*. Richmond: Japan Library, 1999, 3-4. Hori divides the concept of shamanesses as denoted by the term *miko* into two categories. The first refers to those *miko* who were associated with the court and shrines and who participated in formal rituals. The second encompasses those shamanesses who either settle down in one location or travel from village to village and provide services for the populace. See Hori, Ichirō. *Folk Religion in Japan: Continuity and Change*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968, 181-183.

⁵⁷ For more information on the use of this method in Song China, see Davis, Edward L. *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001, 123-125. See also Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, 50-51; and Mikkyō Jiten Hensankai, *Mikkyō Daijiten*, 32-33.

practitioner to become one with Fudō in order to receive the deity's powers. It was thought that the ritual specialist could extend the energy of the Buddha to the patient for healing purposes.⁵⁸ While, based on Chinese precedents, any type of deity could be invoked,⁵⁹ he was the main deity alongside Bishamonten 毘沙門天 to be appealed to in rituals conducted by the *genja*.⁶⁰ As the central deity among the Five Wisdom Kings, Fudō was deemed to not only serve Dainichi, but also to represent an emanation of Dainichi, embodying the fierce aspect. Carrying a sword in his right hand and a noose in his left, Fudō was thought to eradicate evil influences, which explains his importance in these contexts.⁶¹ When the officiant received the deity's powers, he was able to determine whether the illness or disruption was being caused by the *kami* or an entity belonging to the category of *mono*.⁶² This means that a distinction was made yet again between the two categories, as the performance of *kaji* would be inappropriate for the *kami* and other countermeasures would be required.

The sources mentioned previously, such as *The Diary of Lady Murasaki*, and the standardised procedures as they are depicted in the *kanbun* diaries, reveal that the performance of *kaji* involved the use of mediums and prayers directed at a specific deity, which indicates that the *āveśa* method was used. Since most performances of *kaji* that followed this method were centred on Fudō and rituals associated with this deity included the *goma* 護摩 fire ritual, it can be assumed that the *goma shuhō* was an important element in these procedures. In the process, a variety of items, such as herbs, plants and seeds, etc. would be

⁵⁸ Winfield refers to this process as empowerment, "Curing with Kaji", 109-118.

⁵⁹ Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, 124.

⁶⁰ Komatsu, *Hyōrei Shinkōron*, 238 and Koyama, *Shinran no shinkō to jujutsu*, 28-30. For more information on Bishamonten and the deity's origins, see Mano, *Nihon no kamigami wo shiru*, 36-38.

⁶¹ Duquenne, Robert. "Fudō-Myōō". *Dictionnaire historique du Japon* (vol. 5), edited by Matsubara Hideichi, et al. Tokyo: Librairie Kinokuniya, 1980, 19-21.

⁶² Koyama, *Shinran no shinkō to jujutsu*, 30.

thrown into the fire, so that a certain medicinal effect could be achieved through the ingredients. Koyama attempts to demonstrate that in many cases, the *goma* altar was set up right beside the patient, the attending officiant and the *yorimashi*, who would be nearby. Accordingly, the resulting fumes of the ingredients that had been added to fire would have been inhaled by those present. Koyama tries to make a case for the use of such substances as cannabis and opium poppies (*keshi* 芥子), even though the latter is generally thought to have been introduced in a later period.⁶³ However, she has found a number of examples that mention this specific variety of the poppy flower and indicate its presence in Heian Japan. It thus does not seem entirely unreasonable to assume that such ingredients were used in those cases that related to high-ranking individuals. Moreover, cannabis was a well-known substitute when other ingredients were not available, so we can be almost certain of its use.⁶⁴

The monks using these ingredients were usually aware of the poisonous effects that some of them could have on the human body. It was the poison that was needed to exorcise the evil influence. With all of this happening in the vicinity of the patient, the monks, mediums, and perhaps even parts of the audience would have been affected by the fumes and the hallucinogenic effects. There are even a few rare examples, in which the officiating monk or an assistant passed out, although this was attributed to the strength of the *mononoke*. Not many of these events were recorded as they would have implied that the monks were weak and that they had no powers. They were not supposed to be seen as targets of such possessions.⁶⁵ This additional dimension of potential hallucinations provides us with further insight into the dynamics of such situations, which

⁶³ McCullough mentions the use of *keshi* in exorcisms, but maintains that, in actual practice, this referred to rapeseed, 96. Koyama notes that, while the opium poppy was not cultivated in Japan, it could be obtained from China and was seen as an ingredient of high value, "Spirit Possession in the Heian Period", 24.

⁶⁴ Koyama, *Shinran no shinkō to jujutsu*, 14-19.

⁶⁵ Koyama, *Shinran no shinkō to jujutsu*, 20-21.

retained a degree of unpredictability and spontaneity. This element would have made it difficult for the officiating monks to maintain complete control over the situation. Just like the *onmyōji*'s divinations could be influenced by their patrons' demands and opinions, we may suspect that the performance of *kaji* was susceptible to critique and had to conform to the audience's expectations, although this assumption cannot be confirmed due to the lack of explanation in the sources.

As mentioned previously, the *godanhō* often formed part of the *shuhō* ceremony. The ritual was performed at specific temples in order to weaken the *mononoke* so that the exorcism could be more efficacious. Since it was dedicated to the Five Wisdom Kings, Fudō again constitutes the central element of this ritual. In fact, it was developed as an elaboration on the rituals dedicated to Fudō and was popular among Tendai monks. Groner interprets the development of this ritual primarily as a political strategy in the context of the struggles amongst court factions, who invoked the deities' help to defeat their enemies and protect themselves. This idea was transposed onto the meta-physical realm in the form of vengeful spirits. According to him, monks responded to the situation by offering esoteric ceremonies, which could counteract the invisible forces that had potentially been sent to destroy them. It thus represents the trend towards more elaborate ceremonies that involved greater numbers of monks.⁶⁶ As part of the *mikkyō shuhō* (esoteric rituals), which is an expression that Mitsuhashi uses, the ceremony was also performed privately for the emperor in order to avert calamities that could threaten his health and to prolong his life.⁶⁷ While the Five Wisdom Kings were usually invoked to protect the nation from calamities, Fudō

⁶⁶ Groner, Paul. *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei: Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002, 88. This ceremony was first performed at the court in 967 by the Tendai Zasu Ryōgen 良源 (912-985).

⁶⁷ Mitsuhashi Tadashi. *Heian jidai no shinkō to shūkyō girei*. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 2000, 348.

appears to have been of central importance to the process of expelling evil influences from the body of a patient, as were esoteric Buddhist rituals.

So far, I have focussed on the main deity that was invoked to deal with influences stemming from the category of *mono*. However, there is a reasonable amount of evidence to infer that while the deity lent its powers to the officiant, intermediary forces were summoned in order to combat the *mono no ke* in the patient's body directly. As has been indicated by the example in the *Zenke hiki*, such influences could only be counteracted by forces of a similar transience, whether in the form of a tutelary deity, or, as in most recorded cases in the diaries, of a *gohō dōji* 護法童子. They are usually portrayed as young boys and were thought of as protectors of the Buddhist law. As benevolent entities, they were not only messengers of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas but could also be summoned by powerful monks and perform tasks for them.⁶⁸ This feature is reminiscent of the concept of *shikigami* 式神, which were similar entities that acted as spirit servants and could be summoned by *onmyōji*. Indeed, it seems as if these two concepts eventually merged, as Abe no Seimei, in one account, summons a *gohō* in order to cure an illness, rather than one of his *shikigami*.⁶⁹ This development is emblematic of the merging of various traditions throughout the Heian period and provided the basis for *genja* and *onmyōji* to take on one another's roles in certain situations. Komatsu argues that the notion of *gohō* must be inserted as an entity to mediate between the officiant and *mono no ke*.⁷⁰ This implies that there were conceptual boundaries between these various categories and only entities and forces of a similar nature could have an effect on each other when humans were trying to interact with the invisible realm. Hence, we can infer that this was one of the central features of the episteme, which dictated the

⁶⁸ Morohashi, *Dai kanwa jiten*, vol. 2, 1293

⁶⁹ For more information on *shikigami*, see Pang, "Uncovering Shikigami", 99-129, especially 112-113.

⁷⁰ Komatsu, *Hyōrei shinkōron*, 252-253.

interpretive models and the restorative means that should be applied to these situations.

One of the most famous representations of *gohō dōji* can be found in the *Shigisan engi emaki* 信貴山縁起絵巻,⁷¹ where they are portrayed as riding on a cloud following a *dharma* wheel. In this particular image, the boy is holding a sword in his right hand and a rope in the left. This indicates that in certain cases these *gohō dōji* were thought to support Fudō's activities and act in his stead, as an intermediary category. The *gohō* was sent by the main object of worship depending on the efficacy of the practitioner's actions and fought with the *mono no ke* within the body of either the patient or the medium.⁷² Komatsu also introduces the idea that the medium is to be thought of as a mirror that can make the internal processes visible to a certain extent.⁷³ This adds a further dimension to the role of the *yorimashi*, who could act out an underlying objective suggested to them by the officiant or, perhaps, of their own volition. Since the relations between the medium and other participants are difficult to determine due to the lack of information in the primary sources, the socio-political analysis must rely more heavily on institutional affiliations, court factions and their respective relations. The second half of this chapter will thus focus on those particular aspects, which are already foreshadowed in the contexts of misfortune ascribed to the deities and the established ritual categories.

⁷¹ A picture scroll from the twelfth century that depicts the miraculous powers of the monk Myōren 命蓮 (dates unknown), who lived during the reign of Daigo Tennō 醍醐天皇 (885-930) in the tenth century. Refer to the following link for all three scrolls:

<http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2574276?tocOpened=1> Accessed: 2019/08/03.

⁷² Opinions differ as to the exact specifications and locations of these entities, but they seem to agree on the role played by the *gohō* more generally. Komatsu, *Hyōrei shinkōron*, 247-248; Koyama, *Shinran no shinkō to jujutsu*, 38-48.

⁷³ Komatsu, *Hyōrei shinkōron*, 272-273.

1.4 Ritual categories

In relation to the term *tatari*, we have come across many examples in which mostly the deities had caused natural calamities, or other misfortunes, such as epidemics and illnesses. In such situations, as the *Kinpishō* informs us, prayers were of utmost importance.⁷⁴ In order to appease the deities, it seems that generalised countermeasures, such as offerings, sutra recitations and prayers, that were applicable to a variety of situations, presented the only valid form of response. Three main categories of ritual can be identified based on their purpose. They included rituals of exorcism, which were only performed for the category of *mono*, rituals to invite good fortune in order to anticipate potential future events with negative consequences, and, lastly, rituals for pacification and the restoration of harmony, which included those rites that were mainly aimed at the *kami* but could be performed in a variety of situations.

As I have noted previously, there is a significant difference between those deities of Buddhist provenance and those associated with the *jingi* cult. In the specific circumstances discussed in this thesis, it seems as if the *kami* act, whereas the Buddhas and bodhisattvas react, based on the devotion the Buddhist law receives from the people.⁷⁵ In Buddhism, each individual is responsible for his or her fate and has to suffer the consequences of the decisions made. If Buddhist law was respected and the Buddhist deities were worshipped sincerely, then humans could count on their compassion. However, the *jingi* are depicted as being rather more volatile and their benevolence can only be gained through undivided and

⁷⁴ 通万事第一御祈也, scroll 26, miscellaneous, 412.

⁷⁵ In situations involving *tatari*, it is mostly the *jingi*, i.e. certain shrines, that are able to draw attention to themselves in order to receive material benefits. Buddhist deities very rarely appear in those roles, and even then, the circumstances are very specific. As we shall see in the next chapter, in terms of doctrine, Buddhism advocated the same notions that if the deities and the dharma were not revered properly and propagated, the country would fall into decline. However, in actual practice, it is the shrines that cause *tatari* in the majority of examples, while the Buddhist entities are invoked for protection. See the appendix for an overview of the occurrence of *tatari* in the sources.

constant attention.⁷⁶ They appear as moral regulators that either condone or punish human behaviour.⁷⁷ The one exception we have encountered so far is the bodhisattva Myōken, a deity of mixed Buddhist and Daoist origins closely connected to astronomy, who presents a special case due to his associations with imperial power and the position of the emperor.

The most commonly cited reasons for the wrath of the *kami* are neglect in terms of ritual attention and offerings, or the state of their buildings. Such reasoning displays a fundamentally materialistic concern with funding and support from the centre. Buddhism thus may be seen to have taken on the supporting role within the conception of the pre-modern Japanese state, while the *jingi* cult constituted the central discourse of the time, and if the deities were upset, then the country was at great risk.⁷⁸ Conversely, one could argue that this

⁷⁶ Satō distinguishes between these two types as “wrathful deities” and “saving deities” in attempt to conceptualise the roles of the *kami* and Buddhas in early cosmology. The *kami* were seen to punish human beings, while the Buddhas showed compassion. See Satō Hiroo. “Wrathful Deities and Saving Deities”. *Buddhas and Kami in Japan: Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*, edited by Mark Teeuwen and Fabio Rambelli. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2003, 97. Shigeta has also remarked upon this division and cites Yamaori Tetsuo (*Kami to hotoke: Nihonjin no shūkyōkan*) who also asserted that it was the *kami* who caused *tatari* while the Buddhas pacified the wrathful entities. However, he sees the few examples that he cites as proof that the Buddhas did cause *tatari* as well. As I have noted previously, the examples he refers to all relate to the emperor and thus fulfil special roles within the belief system, except for one, which does not clearly state that the *tatari* was caused by a Buddhist deity. There is no conclusive evidence that this is the case and thus, based on my own research, I agree with Satō and Yamaori. See Shigeta, *Heian kizoku to onmyōji*, 140-143.

⁷⁷ From the late *insei* period onwards, it appears that Amaterasu as Tenshō Daijin 天照大神 came to be associated with Enmaten and Taizan Fukun and thus took on the identity of the supreme arbiter of good and evil. Enmaten was seen to reside in the Inner Shrine, while Taizan Fukun occupied the Outer Shrine. See Teeuwen, “The Creation of a *Honji Suijaku* Deity”, 129-136. If the *kami* were generally perceived as judges of moral and virtuous behaviour, then the position of Amaterasu as the supreme arbiter again coincides nicely with the enhancement of imperial authority through the emperor’s relation to Amaterasu.

⁷⁸ These notions, which have emerged from the study of materials relating to very specific circumstances in which meta-physical entities were thought to intervene, present us with a fundamentally different view of the relations between belief systems, the state and the imperial family in the Heian period from that proposed by Kuroda Toshio in his *kenmitsu taisei* 顕密体制 theory. This theory sees exoteric-esoteric Buddhism, epitomised by Tendai Buddhism, as the ideological paradigm for the socio-political system. See Kuroda, “The Development of the *Kenmitsu* System as Japan’s Medieval Orthodoxy”. Bauer has further refined this theory by including the southern Buddhist lineages from Nara into this paradigm. See “Monastic Lineages and Ritual Participation”. While I do not wish to dismiss this theory, as there is no doubt that the Buddhist institutions constituted an important framework in Heian-period Japan, I do think that the theory needs to be further refined to incorporate this central discourse of power that was

was the explanatory framework that was consistent with the episteme and was needed to account for random calamities and misfortunes.

While it cannot be denied that Buddhism was a prominent force in the Heian period and represented one of the three gates of power (*kenmon* 権門),⁷⁹ based on these findings, we must adjust our perspective and acknowledge the fact that the main legitimising discourse that gave meaning to disastrous events was the one that centred on the deities associated with the twenty-two shrines and supported the imperial family and the powerful clans. They could use this discourse to promote their interests, and, since many clans were affiliated with specific shrines,⁸⁰ it was a way for them to get attention from the court, while the court could use them to represent their interests in other locations.⁸¹ The difference between these two systems of thought is also reflected in the way in which they competed for attention from the court. I have mentioned that Buddhist monks and temples sought to provide the most efficacious rituals, while the shrines had to compete through placing the blame for calamities and disasters on certain deities. The *jingi* react to the disruption of harmony caused by human neglect, while the Buddhist deities were able to restore that harmony with the invisible realm, especially by physically extracting the evil influence through the ritual specialist performing *kaji*.⁸²

related to the *jingi*. Hence, based on the full results of my analysis I will address this issue again in the conclusion of this thesis.

⁷⁹ Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, 10-20.

⁸⁰ The Fujiwara alone had established three shrines among the Twenty-Two shrines. Grapard, "Institution, Ritual, and Ideology", 251.

⁸¹ It seems reasonable to assume that these tendencies hark back to Emperor Tenmu's efforts to establish and maintain the *tennō*'s position within the early Japanese state, since he was the one to develop the major rituals we associate with Japanese sovereignty today and provided a basis for legitimisation. The strong emphasis placed on the *jingi* was a means of centralisation and brought a variety of clans under the court's control. It could be of interest to compare Tenmu's intentions and the remnants that are apparent from the sources. Ooms, *Imperial Politics and Symbolics*, 49-85.

⁸² On a grander scale, for matters of national importance, sutra recitations based on their respective doctrines could restore order, and offerings to the *jingi* could pacify the angered deities. These results reveal an interesting dynamic between Buddhist deities and the *jingi*. It appears as if the former were more responsive to human efforts and provided protection more easily, while

This stipulation is determined by the episteme, and if certain factions wanted to manipulate interpretative modes for their own benefit, they had to operate within this set of rules. We can thus conclude that, to a certain extent, the participants in this discourse were aware of general limitations regarding the explanation of events involving the meta-physical realm and possible reinterpretations. As products of the episteme, such structures were internalised by them and used to further their ambitions while upholding the central discourse of harmonious relations with the invisible realm. It was perhaps because the wrath of the deities instilled fear in most people that this discourse could be so successfully manipulated and exploited. However, the many divinatory results that reprimand the elites for a lack of faith and belief in the deities, suggest that their actions were being criticised by other members – perhaps the ritual specialists themselves.⁸³ Or, again, it could have simply been used as a strategy to draw attention to certain situations by appealing to the guilty conscience of those who had neglected their worship.

The division of tasks among the ritual specialists based on their institutionally based technologies was mirrored by a division of tasks in the meta-

visible effects caused by the latter were direct modes of criticism of the ruler, the nobility or the state as a whole as encompassed by the body of the ruler – an aspect we do not find in relation to Buddhist entities in these contexts.

⁸³ See, for example, the fifth day of the ninth month, 1095: A red snake had appeared in front of the hall, which was interpreted as a sign from the deities, whose presence was rarely felt in the latter age. The divination performed by Kamo no Dōgon 賀茂道言 (dates unknown) reveals that on top of the lack of faith in the deities there can be disputes and misunderstandings. (依神事不信之上、可有口舌者 *Chūyūki*, vol. 2, 255).

Or, the fifth day of the ninth month, 1131: Due to strange occurrences that have been affecting the nobility, a divination was performed by the Urabe in the Jingikan, which saw the reason for them in a lack of faith in the *kami* and that their worship had been impure. (恠所神事不信不淨崇. *Chōshūki*, vol. 2, 133.)

On the fifteenth day of the eighth month, 1108, a *konrō no miura* was performed because a rumbling had been coming from the tombs of Emperor Seimu (allegedly reigned from 131 until 191) and Empress Jingū (her reign spanned the years from 201 until 269). The Jingikan's divination stated that there was no faith in the *kami* and that the nobility should be careful. The Onmyōryō's results were roughly the same. (官卜申云、神事不信、公家御慎、寮又大略同意也. *Chūyūki*, vol. 9, 190.)

physical realm, which was predominantly based on the traditions they stemmed from. As mentioned previously, many deities associated with Onmyōdō did not necessarily have fixed places of worship and were characterised by their movements through the heavens and on earth in fixed patterns. They were thought of as entities that needed to be avoided and should not be disturbed in their current locations. In the case of deities such as Ekijin, a pestilence-causing deity, efforts were made to remove the entity and banish it from the capital.⁸⁴

These features may be significant regarding the fact that the main power struggle seems to have occurred between Buddhism and the *jingi*, while the *onmyōji* provided a variety of countermeasures ranging from exorcisms, such as the *kikisai* 鬼気祭, purifications, and spells to prognostication and divination. The main effect of most Onmyōdō deities was to restrict the movements of the nobility and insert a variety of measures that needed to be undertaken before buildings were constructed or a new residence was taken up. The *onmyōji* thus had a certain degree of control over such situations and could prevent or enable certain actions, which presumably depended on their ties with specific court factions. Taizan Fukun was invoked in order to prolong lives, as he was charged with keeping records on individual fates, and for good fortune more generally. This is why this ritual was also often performed in cases of illness and epidemics. In summary, most Onmyōdō deities generally seemed to cause disruption rather than be invoked for private or public benefits.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ *Honchō seiki*, 994, sixth month, twenty-seventh day (*Kokushi taiki*, 224): 此日。為疫神被修御靈會。木工寮修理職造御輿二基。安置北野船岡上。先屈僧侶。令講仁王經。城中之伶人獻音樂。會集之男女。不知幾千人。捧幣帛者。老少滿街。一日之內事了。還此於山境。自彼還放難波海云々。此事非公家之定。都人蜂起勤修也。

In this case, because of an epidemic, a *goryō-e* is performed in order to expel Ekijin from the city to the borders of the mountains and beyond to the sea of Naniwa. It is also noted that the nobility had no say in this matter, but that it was rather due to the protests among the populace.

⁸⁵ See Frank's study on a variety of these deities, *Kata-imi et kata-tagae*, especially chapters 5-9; and Shigeta on Dokujin and Ekijin in *Heian Kizoku to Onmyōji*, 53-74, 160-185.

The *kami* functioned as judges of human behaviour and reacted to neglectful behaviour and corruption in the country. They primarily served to uphold the discourse surrounding the emperor and the dominant clans and to support the official function of the shrines within the state. The Buddhist deities and bodhisattvas appear as compassionate entities, who can be invoked to counteract unbalanced relations and a surplus of evil forces.⁸⁶ The entities belonging to the category of *mono* functioned as the causes of illness, but were related to a more severe, underlying cause and could thus function as mediators between the two realms, especially between the humans and the *kami*. Furthermore, they could interrupt the efficacy of certain rituals, which could only function properly once these intermediate entities were removed. Once Fujiwara no Yukinari's son had been safely delivered in 998, he exclaimed: "The *jaki* caused an obstruction, but we can rejoice in the limitless power of Buddhism."⁸⁷ Bureaucratic structures are thus discernible for the invisible realm and a division of tasks that could only function when all elements came together. It resembles the various aspects of the Japanese state, in which the *kami* were accorded primary status, just like the *tennō* had to be accommodated by all other factions.

The deities invoked in order to provide protection were mostly Buddhist and sometimes stemmed from the originally Daoist tradition in China, while offerings and prayers to the *kami* mostly seem to have had a placatory function. It is thus of interest to examine the sutras that were commonly recited in

⁸⁶ The sutras propagate the same notion that harmony can be restored through the regular recitation of the relevant texts.

⁸⁷ When Fujiwara no Yukinari's 藤原行成 (972-1028) first son was born on the third day of the twelfth month, 998, there were complications after he had been delivered as the afterbirth had not yet appeared. The officials were wondering whether this was due to the workings of *jaki*. Due to the risk of pollution by contact with the mother, the monks had to perform the *kaji* in a separate room. The ritual was successful and the regular ceremonies accompanying royal births could be performed. (午剋京兆消息云、雖遂産事、今一事未遂、邪氣所為歟、僧都雖來臨、忌觸穢不着座、早退去云々、仍驚令詣彼房、申案内、同車到三條、僧都乍立加持、一念珠間平安遂了、邪氣雖成妨、仏力依無限也、歡喜々々、此間少將成房、訪來、即同車至少將宅、体息、次亦參内、今日国忌也。 *Gonki*, 59).

situations of misfortune and which entities were appealed to for help and protection. The most prominent sutras that appear in these contexts are the *Ninnō-kyō*, the *Hoke-kyō*, the *Konkōmyō-kyō*, the *Daihannya-kyō*, and the *Kujaku-kyō*.⁸⁸ The first three of these were the official sutras for the protection of the nation. The *Ninnō-kyō*, for instance, describes how rulers could protect their countries against all kinds of calamities by means of the divine power of the great bodhisattvas. "...The scripture asserts that "humane" or "benevolent" kings (*renwang*) practise "outer protection" (Ch. *waihu* 外護) and that this protection involves the patronage of an independent clergy who practise the "inner protection" (Ch. *neihu* 内護) of the bodhisattva virtue "forbearance" (*ren*)."⁸⁹ Similarly, the *Konkōmyō-kyō* promises that the Four Heavenly Kings (四天王) would protect the country from calamities, pestilence and evil influences as long as the sutra was studied diligently.⁹⁰ The main stipulation of these Buddhist scriptures was that the sutras had to be studied and understood and that the Buddhist *dharma* should be protected. However, one would not be punished in this life, if these duties were neglected, but misfortune could befall the country as a whole if the ruler did not act in accordance with the Buddha's teaching.⁹¹

The idea of the Heavenly Kings coming to protect the country is reminiscent of the passage in Miyoshi Kiyoyuki's essay in the *Honchō monzui* discussed earlier.⁹² There he stated that the deities would descend to earth in

⁸⁸ See the conventions table for the full titles and translations.

⁸⁹ DeBary, William T., Keene, Donald, Tanabe, George, and Varley, Paul, (eds.). *Sources of the Japanese Tradition: From Earliest Times to 1600*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001, 112. The author notes that *ren* is used as a pun in this scripture, as, based on the sound alone, it can also mean "humaneness", which is apparently a pun that Confucius used in his *Analects* and thus evokes the Chinese textual tradition. For an in-depth study and translation of the *Ninnō-kyō*, see Orzech, Charles D. *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998.

⁹⁰ Lu, *Japan: A Documentary History*, 47.

⁹¹ Just like the emperor would be punished by the *jingi* as a representative of the state, in Buddhist lore the person of the ruler also acted on behalf of the state as a whole.

⁹² "Constructing a small shrine for the deities", *Kokushi Taikei*, vol. 29.2, 60-61.

order to view the prosperity of the country based on the correct and diligent performance of the prayers and rituals. Similar principles seem to be at work with the main difference being that the *kami* took on a more ambiguous nature and a wrathful aspect, since they were closer to the human realm.

2 Ritualisation and the socio-political context

2.1 Ritualisation

I would now like to consider the means by which the various court factions and groups in positions of power could manipulate certain interpretational structures based on the notion of “ritualisation”, which, as a social strategy, could draw attention to certain issues. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, ritual can have an immediate effect upon a situation, but, on a secondary level, it could affect the social structure and the construction of knowledge. I will argue here that ritualisation presents the main strategy that was used to manipulate the episteme and that it was the primary means of relating nature to culture. The goal of ritualisation, according to Bell, is to produce a “ritual body”, which has internalised the cosmology, adheres to specific modes of thought, and can thus dominate certain situations. Indeed, “ritualisation is the strategic manipulation of ‘context’ in the very act of reproducing it.”⁹³

What I refer to as beliefs in meta-physical entities and forces, simultaneously presented knowledge and the values attached to certain ideas. These beliefs were used to create a collective reality that was shared by the elites and functioned as a repertoire from which the appropriate entities could be assigned to inexplicable phenomena. Ritual must be seen as the mediating

⁹³ Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 100. On ritualization more generally, 88-93.

mechanism through which interconnecting systems were established between beliefs. These beliefs were converted into schemes that provided physical demonstrations of the validity of certain interpretations, which reaffirmed the worldview, and could be manipulated as a socio-political strategy. Based on what Bourdieu labels “symbolic power”, relations between groups and the state cult as the central legitimising body functioned as arguments that could be reiterated infinitely based on the meanings encoded in the rituals themselves and their expressions.⁹⁴ Bourdieu defines “symbolic power” as the “power to constitute the given by stating it, to show forth and gain credence, to confirm or transform the worldview and, through it, action on the world, and hence the world itself... It is defined in and by a determinate relationship between those who exercise power and those who undergo it, i.e. in the very structure of the field within which belief is produced and reproduced.”⁹⁵

We have seen how ritual embodied power relations and how each group was assigned a specific role within the rituals performed in cases of calamities and illness. Institutionally, ritual formed the central aspect of the organisation of the Heian-period state, which is reflected in the importance of the Jingikan as the highest-ranking department and the presence of the Onmyōryō at times of crisis. While the shrines competed to be identified as the cause of a calamity, the temples competed to provide the countermeasures. In such cases the Buddhist institutions served the nobility and the emperor, while the latter group was expected to provide services and offerings to the shrines. Yet, the expression of these relations rested upon the mutually supportive relationship between the court and the ritual institutions, since services were expected from all of them in return for financial attention, material support, prestige, and status. It is interesting to note that in my sample of primary sources, the shrines that became

⁹⁴ Ibid.: 46, 194-195.

⁹⁵ Bourdieu, “Symbolic Power”, 82-83.

“offending locations” were all part of the twenty-two shrines system. This means that the entire discourse surrounding meta-physical beliefs as interpretations of calamitous events and embodiments of the worldview was centred on the court and the elites. Especially the role of the emperor in some of the rituals is significant, as he was seen as the mediator between the microcosm and the macrocosm, and the temporal punctuation of the year through ritual in order to restore balance.

The concept of “ritualisation” provides a useful lens through which we can observe and describe the articulation of power relations based on belief and ritual. This is in part due to the emphasis placed on rituals and the ritualisation of everyday activities in the Heian period, as well as the prominence of the invisible world, which functioned as a legitimising tool and provided indirect claims of power. As a specific way of acting, ritualisation privileges certain activities and thus sets them off from others, which provided them with a special quality. The efficacy of the rituals performed in calamitous circumstances was of great importance as were the powers of the ritual specialist, who was thought to be able to transcend the realm of everyday activities and draw on the powers of certain meta-physical entities. As I have noted earlier, the arrangement of the ritual space and the relations between the participants was of utmost importance for the ritual’s efficacy. In this way, the process of ritualization modelled the dominant relationships by producing ritualised agents, i.e. all of the participants, who had internalised these relations and their values, which, in turn, promoted legitimisation within a socio-cultural situation.⁹⁶

Although, as products of the episteme, the Heian-period elites were restricted in their way of perceiving and interpreting the world, it is also obvious that certain ritual contexts were manipulated consciously in order to benefit from

⁹⁶ Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 74, 89, 100.

the increased awareness of a situation, while further promoting a particular worldview and predominant forms of knowledge. This notion can be encapsulated by Bell's definition of "ritual mastery", which implies "a practical mastery of the schemes of ritualization as an embodied knowing, as the sense of ritual is seen in its exercise. Ritual mastery can only exist in the specific cultural schemes and strategies for ritualization embodied and accepted by persons of specific cultural communities."⁹⁷ Manipulation was thus only possible within certain confines that could be understood as symbolic schemes which the ritual specialists and the court factions had to adhere to in order to make legitimate claims that would be recognised by the other participants. Ritual specialists epitomise this concept since they derived their power from the office as an external source, which provided them with legitimacy and authority. Nevertheless, they had to be careful and strategic. If their practices were not efficacious or they decided on the wrong method, they would become the object of ridicule, lose their position and perhaps even be sent away. They could easily be exchanged for another ritual specialist.⁹⁸

Within the Heian-period framework then, based on its episteme and ritual as its active component, power could only be derived from the proficiency in ritualised and social schemes. Successful figures such as Michinaga must be viewed as ritualised agents who had internalised and embodied such strategies. Since ritual was integral to politics, as Blair notes, "eminent men and women

⁹⁷ Ibid.: 107.

⁹⁸ We find examples of this in Sei Shōnagon's *Makura no sōshi*, when, for example, an overly confident monk attempts an exorcism that fails, which is listed under no. 22: Dispiriting things, see Sei Shōnagon. *The Pillow Book*. Translated by Meredith McKinney, London: Penguin Group, 2006, 24. See also the *Hanazono safu ki* in the *Osanburuiki* in 1125, which has been cited previously, when the new born crown prince Kimihito refused to drink his milk. See *Osanburuiki*, 249, 262, 277. Several sources contain a report on the incident and this particular text mentions that the Tendai *zasu* Ninjitsu and Shōkaku, the high priest of Daigoji, were summoned to perform prayers. However, they had been performing them for a long time with no visible results. It was suggested that Gyōson should take over: 召大僧行尊、令祈申之間、漸涉時刻、可召替他人之由、有本院仰、而行尊申云、年及八十、初不可見仏法之恥、何有面目、... (276).

developed repertoires of ritual practice in which piety and political interest, sincerity and calculation came together.”⁹⁹ She refers to these repertoires as ritual regimes since they provided their creators with authority and were the key element in maintaining a position of power. Furthermore, these regimes were distinctive and unique to their patrons and they were heritable.¹⁰⁰ Ritual was needed in order to consolidate power. The various groups and factions operated under the guise of having to maintain harmonious relations with the invisible realm, but they also represent political players who were constantly negotiating and reaffirming their position and place within the state cult.

I would now like to compare and contrast the relations between different factions in the two most politically significant eras of the Heian period, namely the height of Fujiwara dominance from the late tenth to the mid-eleventh centuries and the Insei period from the late eleventh to the twelfth centuries. My analysis suggests that the socio-political strategies used to strengthen the position of certain groups and institutions had to obey an internal logic that was consistent with the worldview. It seems that ritualization, as discussed here, was a necessary component of the process that was needed to legitimate the governing body. The necessary ritual elements had to be appropriated as a strategy through which actual power could be demonstrated. If the invisible world was reacting to a certain faction, then they must be the ones in power with the authority to restore the balance between the realms.

⁹⁹ Blair, *Real and Imagined*, 110.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.: 98-99, 110-115. She presents various examples of eminent figures and their specific ritual regimes, which involved aspects such as a signature rite, signature text, signature temple, etc.

2.2 The period of Fujiwara dominance in the eleventh century

Based on the extant diaries, there is a significant gap in the application of the keywords between 1052 and 1077, which coincides with the decline of the period of *sekkanke* rule and the rule of Go-Sanjō.¹⁰¹ He ascended the throne in 1068 as the first emperor since Uda who was not related to the Fujiwara on the paternal side. This results in two main groups of sources that can be analysed in terms of their respective socio-political strategies, based on the interests of these two very different court factions. It was necessary for the retired emperors to distance themselves from the Fujiwara and consolidate their position in the body politic. However, I would like to suggest that the retired emperors used the same strategies as the Fujiwara in order to enforce their claims. My set of data indicates that knowledge of the visible and invisible realms and the associated meta-physical beliefs presented a viable political strategy to provide legitimacy to certain factions and their objectives.¹⁰²

Consider, for instance, the fact that the powerful Fujiwara regents Tadahira (880-949) and Michinaga each had a temple built. The former commissioned the construction of the Hosshōji 法性寺 in 925, while the latter had the Hōjōji 法成寺 built around 1019.¹⁰³ These temples are indicative of the Fujiwara ties with Tendai monks and institutions, since their head abbots were chosen from among the monks residing on Mt. Hiei.¹⁰⁴ Such appointments resulted in disputes between the different branches that were later established

¹⁰¹ See appendix 1 for an overview of the diaries.

¹⁰² Bauer maintains that the establishment of the rule of retired emperors should not be seen as a direct outcome of the rule of the Fujiwara in terms of institutional and doctrinal developments. They should rather be regarded as parallel developments that were each supported by their own factions and monastic institutions. The institutional network associated with the retired emperors in relation to Ninnaji can in fact be traced back to Emperor Uda's times. See "Conflating Monastic and Imperial Lineage", 240-246. Nevertheless, as this chapter demonstrates, it appears as if in the meta-physical sphere similar techniques were appropriated in order to enhance one's position of authority.

¹⁰³ Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, 64, 119.

¹⁰⁴ Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*, 66-67.

as Onjōji and Enryakuji. Before 1098, all Hōjōji abbots had been chosen from the Enchin lineage related to Onjōji, until the former Tendai *zasu* Ninkaku became head abbot. Furthermore, since the Fujiwara chieftains had the right to appoint these abbots, Tendai monks such as Ryōgen sought to establish strong relations with the clan and competed for patronage.¹⁰⁵

It does not seem to be a coincidence that Shirakawa Tennō 白河天皇 (1053-1129) had the presumably deliberately homophonous Hosshōji 法勝寺 built in 1077 as one of the most important temples under imperial patronage. A further six temples were constructed over the following years. The lands upon which the temple was built were initially presented to Shirakawa by Fujiwara no Morozane (1042-1101), but it soon became abundantly clear that the emperor was strategically undermining Fujiwara influence. The name seems to imply that the new Hosshōji was supposed to be superior to the Hōjōji and was constructed to contest the power of the latter.¹⁰⁶ Mainly Tendai and Shingon monks were appointed as abbots of the temple. However, as Adolphson notes, the monks from Kōfukuji were consciously excluded from these processes of revitalisation.¹⁰⁷

This exclusion of the ritual institutions that had been dominated by the Fujiwara and employed for their needs while making use of the same strategies, is reflected in a number of Shirakawa's schemes. Just as individuals such as Michinaga sought to establish ritual regimes in order to maintain their power, court factions such as the Fujiwara attempted to lay claim to the most important annual ceremonies, thus promoting their own institutions and increasing their *shōen* holdings. The annual lecture series, for example, had been controlled by the Fujiwara, but when Shirakawa began to consolidate his position, he established new rituals and funded a different set of lecture meetings, which focussed on

¹⁰⁵ Adolphson, 118-119. Groner, 66.

¹⁰⁶ Mitsuhashi, *Heian jidai no shinkō to shūkyō girei*, 108.

¹⁰⁷ See Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, 85-86.

esoteric sutras. As Adolphson remarks: “Shirakawa’s temples were established in part to counterbalance the central position that the Fujiwara-sponsored temples had obtained earlier. The new imperial temples even became known as “the clan temples of the imperial state” (*kokuō no ujidera*) in direct opposition to the temples dominated by the Fujiwara.”¹⁰⁸

Furthermore, the practice of appointing high-ranking court nobles to leading posts at temples as *hōshinnō* 法親王 (also, *monzeki* 門跡), princely monks, also attests to this technique of appropriating and adopting models that had been successful previously.¹⁰⁹ Initiated by the Fujiwara at Kōfukuji in 978 and continued throughout their period of dominance, Shirakawa appointed his son as a prince-priest at Ninnaji in 1099, which was opposed by the Fujiwara. By providing his son with a considerable amount of funds, he paved the way for the *hōshinnō* to become influential figures.¹¹⁰ These strategies demonstrate that ritual, along with the inherent beliefs about, and knowledge of, the world and ritual institutions, constituted the core element of legitimacy and authority. Ritual was the central mechanism that explained the world, restored balance and enhanced the positions of those who controlled this vital aspect of Heian-period life.

I hereby propose that the appropriation of the meta-physical realm through ritual should be seen as a socio-political strategy of equal importance

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.: 85.

¹⁰⁹ Bauer regards this institution as the central element that provided the retired emperors with more influence, “Conflating Monastic and Imperial Lineage”, 240-241.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.: 70-71, 86-87. Grapard, “Institution, Ritual, and Ideology”, 254. The appropriation of strategies that had been successfully employed by earlier factions seems to be a characteristic feature of Japan’s historical development. To use one example, based on the Fujiwara marriage politics, the Taira also copied the pattern of intermarrying with the imperial lineage in order to secure regency rights, just like the later Hōjō selected a young *shogun* from the court to provide legitimacy and acted as regents on his behalf. The continuity of established practices thus seems to be an important aspect during paradigm shifts and the establishment of new centres of power. See Hurst, G. Cameron, “The Kōbu Polity: Court-Bakufu Relations in Kamakura Japan”. *Court and Bakufu in Japan*, edited by Jeffrey P. Mass, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982, 5-28, esp. 5-7.

and a necessary component of any claim to power. In order to illustrate the techniques that could strengthen positions of power by manipulating the episteme, a few parameters must be established so that specific case studies from the *sekkanke* and *inseiki* can be compared respectively. I would like to focus on situations in which an illness was caused by *tatari* from one or more shrines that targeted a specific person, since such cases were classified as matters of national importance and related to specific ritual institutions. It is important to note that in most cases the “offending locations” causing a negative impact were shrines and that the whole discourse relating to *tatari* and these ritual institutions is mostly centred on indigenous beliefs represented by the *jingi*. This ultimately relates to the underlying power structures due to the notions of clan deities and ancestor worship. Besides the two examples relating to Buddhist deities, namely Shōten and Myōken, that we have already encountered, a few examples of Buddhist temples and imperial tombs becoming the source of *tatari* can be found from the eighth and early ninth centuries. Nevertheless, their numbers are comparatively small, and they represent perhaps the attempt to assimilate and apply the *jingi* discourse to the Buddhist context.

There are four examples that fulfil these criteria between 919 and 1019, and, perhaps unexpectedly, they all target the highest-ranking courtiers such as Tadahira and Michinaga, who also built the aforementioned temples. There are a few exceptions, but they are not representative of the general trend and do not satisfy all of the criteria, since they affected a member of the imperial family but not the *tennō* himself.¹¹¹ In fact, all examples of *tatari* that caused illnesses in the *kanbun* diaries up until 1031, regardless of their association with a ritual

¹¹¹ Please refer to the tables in appendix 1. For this period, I will use examples from the *Midō kanpakuki*, *Shōyūki*, *Gonki*, *Sakeiki*, and *Shunki*. The criteria have purposely been selected to be very specific so that institutional ties and the correlation between such institutions and the bodies of influential people acting as representatives due to their position can be ascertained. Thus, the use of meta-physical beliefs as a socio-political strategy only applies to very specific circumstances but can nevertheless help to shed some light on the importance of meta-physical sanctions and the dynamics between the dominant networks.

institution, mostly target the high-ranking courtiers and their family members. However, one notable exception can be found in 1040, which is in fact indicative of the subsequent decline of the Fujiwara and perhaps represented an early attempt to return more power to the emperors by appropriating the meta-physical discourse. 1040 marks a significant year in which many calamities befell the imperial court, especially when Toyouke's shrine was destroyed by a typhoon in the seventh month and a fire at the palace damaged the sacred mirror at the beginning of the ninth month.

Even before this latter event, the emperor had been suffering greatly from an illness, which was attributed to malevolent influences (labelled *onimono* 鬼物 at first and *kishin* 鬼神 later) that had taken advantage of the emperor's weakened body due to his worry over the collapse of the Outer Shrine at Ise. Since he had also been spending many hours in the garden at night to perform prayers, his body had further been weakened by the *ki* of the earth, which had been rising from the ground into his body.¹¹² The simultaneous performance of ceremonies for the *kami* however, meant that the monks could not be summoned to the palace to carry out their rituals to heal the illness. Only a divination could be performed, by the *onmyōji* Abe no Tokichika 安倍時親 (dates unknown), which revealed that the illness was due to the fact that prayers had not yet been addressed to the

¹¹² *Shunki*, fifth day, ninth month, 1040: …御風病并鬼物得便歟、其故者外宮顛倒事、御心勞已如摧御 (179) 心肝、寢食忘味惱御云々、御心底已如亂、如又蓮夜出御庭中、土氣逆上尤有恐、雖下奴猶有恐、何況於王者之玉體哉、如此間其漸已積并鬼神得其短歟、… (180). Both of these expressions, 鬼物 and 鬼神, are not found very often in Heian-period diaries, which makes this entry rather unusual. Based on the Shiryō Hensanjō database of the *Dai nihon kokiroku*, 鬼神 only appears twice, namely once in the *Shōyūki* in 1021 (people died in a fire and it is asked whether it is due to the deities), where the expression must be taken to refer to the deities, and once in the *Chūyūki* in 1103, where it must also be understood in the sense of deities (the *kijin* have had to govern the people, for which they must bear the blame). 鬼物 only appears once in the *Shōyūki* in 1018 in relation to illness. (<http://wwwap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller-e> Accessed: 2019/03/12) Thus, in this example, 鬼神 must also be taken to refer to the *tatari* of the deities.

Buddhas and *kami* in the south-eastern direction, namely the direction of Ise.¹¹³ Just a few days later the fire destroyed the palace and the imperial treasures contained within it, which was a cause of great concern and was understood as punishment from the deities for human incompetence.¹¹⁴ On the twentieth day of the same month, the emperor was very unwell again. This time the word *tatari* is used specifically and it is again related to the south-eastern direction, which indicates that Ise was seen to be the cause. The fire at the palace had caused *kegare*, which in turn delayed the offerings that were supposed to be made to Ise and thus, based on Heian-period logic, probably resulted in the emperor's illness.¹¹⁵

Looking at the broader historical context, we find that during Go-Suzaku's reign (1036-1045), the power of the Fujiwara declined significantly. Fujiwara no Yorimichi (992-1071), the son of Michinaga, found himself in an unfortunate position, as he did not have a grandson who would have been eligible for imperial succession. He only managed to retain his position as regent for fifty years through his sisters, which made him the uncle of three emperors, including Go-Suzaku. However, in 1045, when Go-Suzaku abdicated in favour of his son, he simultaneously named Prince Takahito 尊仁親王, the later Go-Sanjō, crown prince, despite Yorimichi's continued opposition and objections. These circumstances ultimately sealed the fate of the Fujiwara when the retired emperors began to

¹¹³ *Shunki*, 180.

¹¹⁴ It appears that the sacred mirror had mostly melted and only a few small fragments could be found. The officials attempted to rescue whatever they could from the ashes (ninth day, ninth month, 1040; 181-184). The following day, two court ladies reported that they had had a dream in which one dreamt of a small snake that appeared to be suffering, while the other dreamt of a person who had been trapped within the burnt-down building. When they checked that location, they found two more of the golden treasures and the event was interpreted as a divine manifestation. (tenth day: 女官二人夢想云、一人夢云、彼本所有小蛇、頗有惱氣云々、一人夢云、彼本所有人云、吾相離獨身在此所云々. 185).

¹¹⁵ *Shunki*, twentieth day, ninth month, 1040: 彼の宣命、内裏焼亡の触穢に依りて延引す。殊に其の辞を載すべし。抑も所勞、今に平らかならざるなり。動もすれば以て更に発る。風病のごときに非ず。疑ふ所、事の祟り有るか。先日、卜筮、異方の神に祟る由有り。

<http://rakusai.nichibun.ac.jp/kokiroku/list.php> Accessed: 2018/12/21.

accumulate more wealth and power.¹¹⁶ It is thus perhaps not surprising that it was during this period that the meta-physical world began to target the emperors, which as a strategy implied that they had been sanctioned as the centre of authority by the invisible realm. A socio-political shift of power in the visible and experienced realm hence equally resulted in a shift in the invisible realm, which in such cases only seemed to target the supreme authority in the country.

With a few exceptions, *tatari* was mostly linked to natural phenomena until the late tenth century. It is only in the *Shōyūki* that the term *tatari* as a cause for illnesses starts to appear more frequently. We may thus infer that there is a link between the association of these concepts and the rise of the Fujiwara. Since three out of the four examples that fulfil the criteria feature Michinaga, I will focus on his figure in the development of my argument, as he represents the pinnacle of the clan's power. In the sixth month of 1012, Michinaga had organised a pilgrimage to Mt. Hiei, but the plan had to be abandoned midway, as he became ill and could not travel. The *Shōyūki* tells us that a large number of people accompanied him up the mountain and had apparently been very careless. It was normally expected of people to pass by Hie shrine at the foot of the mountain with reverence, but Michinaga's party rode past it on their horses. The procession of such a large number of people also seems to have caused several rocks and stones to tumble down the slopes of the mountain, which not only injured some of the monks, but also landed within the sacred precinct of the Sannō deity. It seems that the rocks had fallen onto the practice hall where the monk Unkei, who was already over seventy years old and had been practising for many years, was teaching his disciples. After searching for them for four days and nights, they

¹¹⁶ Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, 77-79.

seem to have found traces of their escape.¹¹⁷ The criticism of Michinaga's actions and the behaviour of his entourage is implicit.

When the monk Shinyo 心譽 (971-1029) heard of Michinaga's illness, he came to attend to him. His prominence in cases concerning Michinaga is quite noticeable and hints at a strong tie of mutual support between the two.¹¹⁸ He was affiliated with the Tendai school as part of the Jimon branch (Onjōji) and was the disciple of Kanshū 勧修 (945-1008) among others, who was the administrator of Onjōji and eventually rose in rank due to his connections with Michinaga. It is worth noting that Shinyo was of Fujiwara descent – he was the great-grandson of Tokihira – and maintained close ties with Michinaga throughout his life. He eventually became the temple administrator of Hōjōji, which is the temple that Michinaga had built as a clan temple, as well as of Onjōji, which indicates the network that Michinaga had established with certain ritual institutions. *Jaki* is seen as the cause of his illness, but the situation on Mt. Hiei appears to have caused much greater concern overall. The connection between Michinaga and the events on the mountain are further confirmed by an oracle that was received by a young girl, who had a dream in which someone resembling the great minister (i.e. Michinaga) had appeared. It seems reasonable to conclude that the Tendai monks associated with Enryakuji were actively trying to blame Michinaga and criticising him by making use of the meta-physical level and manipulating the episteme, which could not easily be dismissed or opposed. However, it is also

¹¹⁷ Fourth day, sixth month, 1012: 仍二日下山、彼御文相副、心神極惱、自山中退歸、…然而邪氣猶有怖畏、就中天台事恐 (vol. 3, 31) 懼無極、山上為大愁、其故者、運慶と僧年七十有余、不出山門、練行年深、彼弟子法師處飛礎之事、尋披運慶房、仍四日夜被蓑海跡逃云、滿山憐悲、又彼邊房五箇日許主人逃隱無住人、亦東坂下比叡御社鳥居前往還人必伏拜過、而左府登山之間、上下悉騎馬過御社前、又彼御社前重置數石為山王御坐之處、… (vol. 3, 32).

¹¹⁸ The *Dai nihon kokiroku* contain numerous references to Shinyo in the *Midō Kanpakuki* and the *Shōyūki*, which displays the monk's close ties with Michinaga. (<http://wwwap.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller-e> Accessed: 2019/03/12)

noted that there had been laziness in performing the *Mishuhō*, when instead it should generally be performed with great kindness and compassion.¹¹⁹

The Tendai monk Keien 慶円 (944-1019) had visited Michinaga, who was in pain, and reported that Sannō 山王 had possessed the body of a monk and revealed that the dreams they were having were due to the deity's *tatari*. It is implied that Michinaga's illness is being caused by Sannō's *tatari*, which thus presents a direct form of criticism of his actions and an attempt of the Enryakuji monks to distance themselves from him. For these reasons Keien refuses to perform the *Mishuhō* for Michinaga, upon which a heated argument erupts. Nevertheless, Keien leaves without performing the ritual.¹²⁰ At the time, Keien was a high-ranking priest and became Tendai *zasu* only two years later. Although he was of Fujiwara descent, he was related to the southern branch and thus shared no familial ties with the minister. Over the following days, the Hossō monk Fukō 扶公 (966-1035) from the Fujiwara clan temple, namely the Kōfukuji, came when he heard about the argument that had taken place. The *kaji* ritual was performed for him and thirty lectures were held concerning the *Lotus sutra*, which, as Blair notes, constituted a main component of Michinaga's ritual regime. According to her, this set of lectures and debates, which he sponsored every year around the fifth month, should be understood as Michinaga's signature rite, while the *Lotus sutra* can be seen as his signature text within his ritual regime.¹²¹ It seems as if the lecture series had already been delayed due to his poor health and was only now being performed even though Michinaga was unwell. Hence, the monks were asked to conclude the ceremonies as soon as possible.

¹¹⁹ 山王子託女人、宜種々事、亦有夢想等、似相府可被愼、今般御修法極嬾、然而依懇命愼可奉仕。(vol. 3, 32).

¹²⁰ 權僧正慶円申相府云、天台僧只奉憑山王、而有山王崇之由有夢想、仍不可奉仕御修法者、相府論給事御聲甚高、權僧正不奉御修法直退出、… (vol. 3, 33).

¹²¹ Blair, *Real and Imagined*, 111-113.

A series of unusual events on Mt. Hiei further highlight the implicit criticism of Michinaga's actions and a direct link between his illness and the mountain. First of all, *mokke* is reported at Hie shrine. Then, while the *onmyōji* Kamo no Mitsuyoshi 賀茂光榮 (939-1015) was performing a *henbai* 反閉¹²² in front of the hall, a black kite swooped down and killed a mouse, which is interpreted as a bad omen. In addition, while he was in discussion with Minamoto no Asatou 源朝任 (989-1034),¹²³ who was a keeper of the imperial archives at the time, a spirit appeared above the hall in which Michinaga was resting and pointed north, which could be interpreted as Mt. Hiei. Asatou was apparently very shocked, while Mitsuyoshi admitted that he had not seen it clearly. A further report from an *ajari* 阿闍梨 (high priest) informed the courtiers that a number of wild boars had entered the shrine precincts on Mt. Hiei and were causing much damage.¹²⁴ On the tenth day, the *jaki* was finally transferred onto a medium and Michinaga could be moved to Hosshōji, the clan temple to which he had added the Godaidō earlier. However, he did not recover, and, to make matters worse, a toad fell onto the roof of the hall into which he had been moved. The entries continue in this way and it is obvious that whatever was observed in nature near the palace and on the mountain was used to tie the two events together on a meta-physical level, namely Michinaga's illness and Sannō's *tatari*.

¹²² A rite with Daoist origins that required the practitioner to stamp the ground with his feet while chanting spells in order to expel evil influences and restore harmony in that area. See Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon*, 86; Shigeta, "Onmyōdō and the Aristocratic Culture of Everyday Life in Heian Japan", 72.

¹²³ Since he served three consecutive emperors, namely Ichijō, Sanjō and Go-Ichijō, and his mother was related to the northern branch of the Fujiwara, we may assume that he was on good terms with Michinaga.

¹²⁴ 比叡御社有物怪者、…今曉乘車被渡御堂、光榮反閉之間、鷄落死鼠、光榮傾奇、誠其不吉徵歟云、今夜重上表、亦云、与左少將朝任於西中門邊清談、佇立之間、人魂自相府住屋上、指北去、朝任見之告之驚見有、光榮不倦見、初朝任倦見之者、曆教阿闍梨云、比叡御社中、猪數多入來破損御殿、往古不聞之事也者、(vol. 3, 35).

The entry demonstrates that Michinaga acted as a representative of the whole group and was targeted in order to draw the greatest degree of attention to the event, so that the situation may be rectified. This attests to his status and the power he held, but simultaneously contains an element of critique and the potential to act out this criticism on a grand scale. Nevertheless, this section also highlights the fact that Michinaga did not have one of the most influential temples, namely Enryakuji, on his side and that they used every opportunity to express their disdain,¹²⁵ resulting in two factions. Keien and his followers openly disregarded Michinaga's wishes, while monks such as Fukō and the *onmyōji* Mitsuyoshi attempted to help him. The role of Asatou and his vision of a spirit pointing north remain unclear. As I have mentioned previously, the Fujiwara clan had strong ties with the Onjōji monks, from amongst whom the Hōjōji abbots were chosen, and the Hossō school due to Kōfukuji. We can thus assume that this was the main supportive network within which Michinaga operated.

The appearance of the *bettō* 別当 (head of a religious institution) from Kōfukuji is quite significant. Ōe puts forward an interesting theory regarding the emergence of *onryō* in relation to *tatari*, as well as the Fujiwara and Kōfukuji. He notes that *tatari* originally developed in connection with the Jingikan and their methods of divination, especially the divinations performed by the Urabe. In his view, the concept of *onryō* developed out of *tatari* depending on the type of religious people who described it. This is mainly due to the fact that various prominent figures who had been wronged were being described as the cause of certain *tatari*. He thinks it is conceivable that the notion of *onryō* developed in a very specific environment, namely among the adherents of the Hossō school and

¹²⁵ The reasons for this apparent animosity, perhaps only focussed on certain individuals, would need to be examined in more detail, which is beyond the scope of this thesis. It must also be remarked that they still carried out sutra recitations for him.

especially in relation to Kawaradera with which it was closely connected.¹²⁶ A number of victims of political intrigues sought refuge there and one Hossō monk in particular, namely Zenju 善珠 (723-797), had been close to some of these victims and thus performed sutra readings in order to pacify their spirits.¹²⁷ This means that Zenju, and the Hossō school by extension, were acting in opposition to the officially held opinion by pacifying and showing kindness to the spirits of public enemies. Those who managed to attain positions of power due to these political manoeuvres were free to move up to the highest ranks. Ōe's main argument is that those who talked about such entities were the Hossō monks and that it was within this political and religious climate that such concepts emerged.¹²⁸

Based on the Fujiwara's close ties with the Hossō school, it is not inconceivable that they were particularly familiar with the concepts of *tatari* and vengeful influences and hence knew to manipulate the beliefs relating to the meta-physical realm in order to further their own objectives. This seems to be further corroborated by the fact that the appearance of meta-physical entities, as they have been discussed so far in relation to specific institutions, only begin to appear from the tenth century onwards. The fact that from the late Nara period until the mid-ninth century some examples can be found in which *tatari* caused illnesses in the form of spirits such as Sawara, attests to the similarity of the concepts of *tatari* and *onryō* in some respects.¹²⁹ These *tatari* specifically

¹²⁶ The temple was built in the late seventh century and under Tenmu became one of the Four Great Temples, alongside Asukadera, Kudara Ōdera and Yakushiji. Shinmura, *Kōji*, 640. <https://www.asukanet.gr.jp/asukahome/ASUKA2/ASUKATERA/kawaharadera.html> Accessed: 2019/01/08.

¹²⁷ Prince Iyo and his mother were exiled to Kawaradera for allegedly plotting a rebellion and ultimately died there. When other princes were suffering under the influence of Sawara's spirit, Zenju tried to pacify the vengeful spirits, since he had been close to him while he was alive. Ōe, "Tatari", "Onryō", soshite "Goryō", 60-72 and *Kami to Rei*, 15-16, 26-38.

¹²⁸ Ōe, *Kami to Rei*, 203-222.

¹²⁹ Based on Ōe's tables of the occurrence of *tatari* in the *Shoku Nihongi* (26-29), I would like to cite the following examples: 792 (the imperial prince is unwell because of Sawara's spirit), 841 (illness because of Kayahara tomb, i.e. Kanmu). In the *Shoku nihon kōki*, in 841, an illness is also

targeted the emperors and crown princes at the apex of the bureaucracy. Thus, the notion of *tatari* causing illnesses in relation to ritual institutions was not a new phenomenon and it seems as if the Fujiwara consciously adopted this discourse as a socio-political strategy. However, their explanations had to be consistent with the worldview and there had to be a general consensus regarding the validity of their claims among the participants, ritualised agents, and the audience.

Kūkai 空海 (774-835) and Saichō 最澄 (767-822) also attempted to pacify these wronged spirits. While Kūkai never used the term, Saichō, according to Ōe, seems to have known Zenju and also believed that such spirits needed to be appeased specifically. After the creation of the concepts based on Hossō thought, it seems that it was Saichō's notion of "the inherent Buddha nature of all living things" that contributed to its further development. He further notes that during the tenth century there was a rise in Tendai rituals being performed for the elimination of evil influences, in the form of exorcisms and *kaji* through which messages from the entity could be transmitted.¹³⁰ Indeed, this seems to be reflected throughout the *sekkanke* period, which displays a strong presence of Tendai monks overall. From the example I have examined in this part, we now know that the Fujiwara, and especially Michinaga, had ties with Onjōji, Kōfukuji, and Hōjōji, while the relationship with Enryakuji was strained. This split may have also resulted from the general enmity between the two Tendai institutions on Mt. Hiei.

The ritual contexts in which the assignment of certain beliefs took place provided an enactment of the struggle with meta-physical forces. They were interpreted in such a way as to promote certain underlying power relations and

related to Kayahara tomb, and in the *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*, in 874, the emperor's illness is related to the *tatari* of Kamo. (<http://www.j-texts.com/chuko/koukiall.html> Accessed: 2019/03/12)

¹³⁰ Ōe, ""Tatari", "Onryō", soshite "Goryō"", 71-74, 85.

benefit the associated ritual institutions. We may thus conclude that the use of *tatari*, and, by extension, other meta-physical notions, fulfilled a function as socio-political strategies, which became so well-established that it could be adopted and appropriated by another ruling faction.

2.3 (Re)Claiming political authority: the *insei* period

From the late eleventh century onwards, an obvious shift is discernible regarding the recourse to the meta-physical sphere as a socio-political strategy and the targets of meta-physical criticism.¹³¹ There are another four examples for this period that fulfil the criteria as they have been defined above, but this time they all relate directly to the emperors. Again, this reflects a more general trend throughout the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries when considering *tatari* as the cause of an illness. There are only a few exceptions that target the crown prince or imperial virgin priestess. Moreover, in both the periods of Fujiwara dominance and the rule through retired emperors, *tatari* are sometimes accompanied by the appearance of *jaki*, which indicates their communicative and intermediary function. When we look at the ritual institutions that are associated with *tatari* in both periods, in the great majority of cases they were those cultic centres that were ranked among the twenty-two shrines. Throughout the Heian period they became the object of imperial support and served to systematise the performance of rituals according to government ideology by providing spiritual protection for the imperial state. However, it should also be noted that the

¹³¹ Despite the fact that the criteria according to which these examples have been selected are very specific, the consistency of the application of *tatari* in those circumstances to specific people and the shift between Michinaga and Horikawa are quite striking. Refer to the tables in appendix 6 for a chronological list of *tatari* causing illness. It should be noted that this is but one small part of the discourse surrounding *tatari*, since its application was mostly concerned with natural phenomena. This latter aspect will receive more attention in relation to imperial authority in the following chapter.

Fujiwara had helped to establish a number of these institutions thereby securing their own position within the state, since the imperial family made offerings to these sites.¹³²

The shrines that appear throughout the *sekkanke* period as the “offending locations” are Inari, Kibune, and Hie with its relation to Sannō. Yet, Hie was only added to the list of official shrines in 1039, which means that in the example considered previously, the shrine was not yet being sponsored officially. When it received an official rank, it was included in the lower group alongside Kibune, while Inari formed part of the upper group. The division of the twenty-two shrines should not necessarily be conceived of in terms of prestige, but they are commonly seen to have been organised according to their geopolitical and political functions. The upper group was “close to the capital, the second group represents the past history of the lineages in Yamato, and the third group represents a larger concern with the periphery”, since they specialised in the removal of evil influences that were causing natural calamities.¹³³ In the *insei* period a larger number of shrines appears, namely Ise, Kamo, Matsuno’o, Hirano, Kasuga, Gion, Iwashimizu, Ōharano, Hie, and Gion. In these cases, one has to discriminate carefully between those that were considered to be causing *tatari* and those that were simply prayed to for protection. A comparison of the two periods reveals that there is hardly any overlap between the shrines apart from Hie, which as noted before, was only included when Fujiwara power was already in decline.¹³⁴ Six of the seven upper shrines are represented here, with Inari being conspicuously absent, in addition to Ōharano from the middle group, and Gion and Hie from the lower group. The retired emperors seem to have focussed their attention on those ritual institutions that were close to the capital and most

¹³² Grapard, “The Economics of Ritual Power”, 74-76.

¹³³ Ibid.: 75.

¹³⁴ This may indicate that different groups were vying for power over the shrine or that the members of the shrine were openly opposed to Michinaga, since the entry indicates an affiliation between the shrine and Enryakuji. However, this remains speculation at this stage.

obviously associated with imperial power. When we look at such entities as Ekijin or Dokujin, they appear to target both groups equally over both periods.

This means that the use of meta-physical beliefs as a socio-political strategy that involved ritual institutions centred on the main discourse of power. It is also revealing that this discourse exclusively focussed on imperial mythology and the *jingi*, and does not reflect as broad a spectrum as is found across the various belief systems in terms of meta-physical entities. The appropriation of the meta-physical realm as a ritual strategy thus constitutes one of the main elements that was necessary to attain real political power in accordance with the Heian-period worldview. This discourse, as a defined set of ideas and practices, must then be located at the centre of the episteme for this particular period. As we shall see in the next chapter, while on this level certain types of meta-physical beliefs were used as strategies, in other contexts certain meta-physical entities served as a means to communicate with the other world, which may reveal more not only about the functions of the invisible realm and its various expressions, but also the predominant notions of power and legitimacy.

In this section I would like to focus on the period of Horikawa Tennō's reign (1079-1107; reigned 1087-1107) during which Shirakawa, a key figure in this development, maintained his influence as retired emperor. It was Shirakawa's father, Go-Sanjō, who had conceived of and set up the mechanisms for a new system of rule by retired emperors, but Shirakawa was the one to put these ideas into practice and ultimately acted as regent for three consecutive emperors. As the system had been established in reaction to Fujiwara dominance, it remained very similar to it.¹³⁵ Not only were socio-political structures taken

¹³⁵ Sansom, *A History of Japan*, 201. Hurst, *Insei*, 5. Bauer argues against this view in his article "Conflating Imperial and Monastic Lineage" based on the fact that there had already existed an imperial exoteric-esoteric lineage at Ninnaji from Emperor Uda onwards, which predates the height of Fujiwara dominance. The temple networks created under the retired emperors must thus be seen as a direct outcome of these prior developments. This means that the institution of retired emperors cannot be seen as a counteraction against the Fujiwara (241-242, 248). While I agree with him in this respect, I do not think that this argument can be applied to all measures

over to support their claim, but, as I argue here, the meta-physical realm also had to sanction the new governing faction, which means that the meta-physical strategies had to be adapted to their own needs. When the episteme was consciously manipulated and enforced through ritual strategies, the application of the keywords under consideration in this thesis as representing the meta-physical realm becomes highly politicised. They take on a much more profound meaning that reaches beyond their notions of explaining what cannot be seen and their cosmological functions.

Shirakawa reigned for fourteen years before abdicating in 1086. According to Hurst he “remained the most powerful figure at the Heian court until his death in 1129.”¹³⁶ The following examples relate to the events in the ninth and tenth months of 1106. Horikawa was suffering from a severe illness, and, while it does not relate to Shirakawa directly, we can assume that he maintained control over the situation. Horikawa’s illness is first mentioned on the nineteenth day of the ninth month, and on the twenty-first the Ritual of the Five Altars was performed by a variety of monks in order to remove the illness that is alternately referred to as *jaki* and *mononoke*. Amongst them are the Tendai *zasu* Kankei 寛慶 (1044-1123), who apparently did not get on well with Shirakawa and later became *zasu* of the earlier Hosshōji 法性寺, which had been established by Tadahira, and Jōkai 定海 (1074-1149), a Shingon monk. The Tendai monk Zōchi 増智 (1078-1135) of Onjōji, who was appointed as *gon no shōsōzu* 権の少僧都

undertaken in terms of socio-political structures. Based on the data presented here, the similarity between certain actions of the Fujiwara and those of the retired emperors seem to be too similar to be merely a coincidence. Since the socio-political measures and ways of securing authority are so variegated, it does not necessarily have to be one or the other. It is perhaps better to think of these processes in relative terms. While the retired emperors may have been able to rely upon their own networks that had been established previously, it also seems reasonable to assume that they adopted certain techniques that had proved to be successful before, which, as I have mentioned before, was not an unusual strategy in Heian Japan.

¹³⁶ Hurst, *Insei*, 125.

(monk of lesser rank, but later became the *zasu* of Shirakawa's Hosshōji 法勝寺),¹³⁷ while his master the Tendai *zasu* Zōyo 増誉 (1032-1116) performed rituals for the emperor in the Amida hall of Sonshōji.¹³⁸ This was one of the six great temples initiated by Shirakawa with Hosshōji. His presence and influence on this situation are thus palpable. On the twenty-seventh there were temporary prayers because offerings were being made to ten shrines. For this reason, the monks had to leave the place where they were reading the sutras for a while.

On the third day of the tenth month temporary offerings were made to the shrines again, namely Iwashimizu, Kamo, Matsuno'o, and Hirano, as well as Inari, Kasuga, Gion, Hie, Kitano and the other shrines in their directions, which meant the north-western and south-eastern directions. The entry differentiates between the four shrines listed first, which are separated by commas, and the latter five, which are treated as one unit. The next sentence reveals that the *tennō* had been ill ever since the nineteenth day of the last month, which is why a divination was performed. It revealed that the deities in those directions were causing *tatari*. We may assume that in this case offerings were made to the first four shrines in order to gain spiritual protection, while the latter five needed to be actively pacified, as they were the ones causing *tatari*.¹³⁹ On the tenth day, the retired emperor Shirakawa moved to Hosshōji with him, which strongly resembles the measures undertaken in the case of Michinaga, so that the *jaki* could be removed. However, his illness continued and, due to his poor health, Horikawa passed away a year later.

¹³⁷ It is interesting to note that like the Fujiwara before him, Shirakawa selected monks from Onjōji as administrators for his temple.

¹³⁸ *Chūyūki*, vol. 6, 210: 廿日：…玉躰不豫同昨日、廿一日：…今夜有五壇御修法、於仁壽殿被始之、御読経二座被入御前、今日御物氣被渡、頗雖温氣御、卜筮之所告邪氣者、仍御物氣被渡也。

¹³⁹ *Chūyūki*, vol. 6, 214: …石清水、賀茂、松尾、平野、稻荷・春日・祇園・日吉・北野、或社者當方角、或社者殊被祈申、主上從去月十九日玉躰頗不例御、仍被行御卜之處、件方角神社崇、仍殊有此奉幣也。

Although the targets of reprimands from the meta-physical realm have shifted and other ritual institutions have become more central to the body politic, the similarity of the strategies employed is striking. Michinaga was the most powerful of the *sekkanke* rulers and brought the aim of the Fujiwara clan to dominate court politics to full fruition, while Shirakawa had to establish and redefine the positions of the emperor and retired emperor so that they could reclaim more influence over political decisions. Hurst notes that “despite his influential position in court politics, Shirakawa still operated through the established channels of the *ritsuryō* governmental system. He did not create a new form of political control which he ran as an absolute dictator. He did not disregard the emperor, the regent, and the *kugyō* 公卿 council, which consisted of senior court officials. On the contrary, he appears to have had all due respect for the imperial position as the ultimate sanctifier of political action, and he utilised the existing political apparatus rather than creating a new one.”¹⁴⁰

If meta-physical influences, especially those related to specific ritual institutions, namely one or more of the twenty-two official shrines, targeted someone specific such as Michinaga, as the regent in power, or Horikawa, whose influence as emperor was being restored, it underlines their position and confirms their status as the generally acknowledged political leader. They were the ones that should be appealed to if there were problems or these ritual institutions were hoping to receive more attention from the centre. It seems as if these types of meta-physical beliefs not only served to differentiate a category of *kami* from other types of belief denoted as *mono* as discussed in chapter 2, but also to separate the *jingi* cult that was intertwined with the imperial family and powerful lineages as a discourse of authority and power from other types of beliefs. These two aspects become inextricably linked, as, on the one hand, it

¹⁴⁰ Hurst, *Insei*, 150.

seems as if Buddhism was assigned its role as protector of the realm and those in power due to the countermeasures it could provide in order to expel evil influences. On the other hand, the *jingi* themselves could be the cause of misfortune and had to be pacified, while this discourse was not assigned the same role of removing detrimental forces that were seen to come from beyond the realm that encompassed human lives. The episteme produced such meta-physical beliefs that indicated an imbalance between the human and meta-physical realms and their frequent association with the *jingi* confirmed the centrality of the major lineages and those participating in the various forms of rulership.

The examination of the ritual context in this chapter has revealed the dynamics and tensions between the various participants and ritualised agents, and how the discourse centring on the application of the keywords to calamities was regulated both internally and externally. Ritual can be seen to represent a component of the episteme that served to put the underlying rules into practice and structure the worldview by providing a link between the two realms. The meta-physical realm added a further dimension to socio-political concerns, since it could be used as a means to generate political legitimacy through the manipulation of symbols. Since power could only be derived from the proficiency in ritualised and social schemes, the ritual specialists played an important role in the formulation of the nature of reality. Just as in the previous chapter, tensions between specific categories, namely *mono* and *kami*, official and non-official cults, as well as the conscious separation of the *jingi* from other cults surface repeatedly, which indicates its significance for Heian-period cosmology.

Many monographs and articles on the Heian period tend to overemphasise the centrality of Buddhism,¹⁴¹ while overlooking the significance of those sets of beliefs that provided the ultimate form of legitimisation. We need to recognise that Buddhism also constituted a major political, ritual, and explanatory force in terms of premodern cosmology, and its integration into the system was vital for the running of the state. However, it was the *jingi* discourse that formed the actual foundation of everything else. The application of meta-physical beliefs to these kinds of situation clearly delineates the tasks assigned to the different traditions of thought, where their boundaries of influence lay, and how they could be manipulated to attain more power. While the world of the *kami* was still part of the world as experienced by humans and they were closer to this realm, Buddhist forces seem to transcend this sphere entirely while being concerned with the restoration of harmony, which was the necessary foundation of the body politic. This tells us something about the mechanisms at work at the boundaries of knowledge in the Heian period, the ways in which various institutions came together based on a predetermined division of tasks to rectify situations of crisis, and the legitimising function of being the main target of the deities' wrath.

¹⁴¹ This is perhaps largely due to the influence of Kuroda Toshio's work on the *kenmitsu taisei* as the main interpretative framework of pre-modern Japan. Consequently, many books on pre-modern Japanese religion focus mainly on the Buddhist traditions, see, for example, Bowring, *The Religious Traditions of Japan*. While a profound knowledge of these traditions is necessary to fully comprehend the Heian period, my research also demonstrates that the *jingi* cult played a far more important role in terms of imperial authority than has been acknowledged so far (even if it was ultimately subsumed in a Buddhist framework), to the extent that certain discourses were consciously separated, as the next chapter will illustrate in more detail.

Chapter 4: Communicating with the meta-physical realm

The aspect of communication between the realm of mundane activity and that which encompasses the various meta-physical entities has implicitly formed a backdrop to the discussions in previous chapters. While I have mainly focussed on issues such as the impact of these particular forces on mundane reality and the socio-political implications of their application to certain situations, the immediate contexts were informed by the efforts of entities in the “other realm” to draw attention to unbalanced relations or unmet expectations. Such forms of communication were initiated by the deities, specifically *kami* in most cases, and sometimes required intermediary entities, such as the keywords that have been selected for this thesis. They appeared physically as illnesses or natural calamities with the consequence that nature itself was understood as an accumulation of potentially coded messages that had to be deciphered.

When the processes of communication between these two realms are examined more closely, it soon becomes clear that the way in which information was exchanged was tied into questions of authority and the main differentiation between the imperial lineage and other court factions.¹ Based on this separation of the emperor and his relations to the *kami* from the processes used by other members of the court to communicate with the invisible realm, this chapter will demonstrate that there was an intimate link between the meta-physical discourse and notions of authority, in the form of symbolic associations.² The

¹ As Orzech notes, the concepts of religion and power cannot be separated in the East Asian context. The continuity between the realms provided a way to formulate claims to power in meta-physical terms, as exemplified by the *Humane King Sutra*, which, through paradoxes, legitimises worldly power and benefits as accomplishments on the path to salvation, see *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*, 7-15.

² We have already seen in previous chapters how the discourse of the *kami* was always consciously separated from other types of meta-physical discourses on various levels, and how the appearance of meta-physical forces in relation to ritual institutions, specifically shrines, could be manipulated for worldly benefits. By looking at the processes of communication in both directions, the claims made in earlier chapters can be extended to the socio-political context and the strategies used to protect the position of the ruler. They will be examined in this chapter in

deities that the *tennō* approached in the form of imperial decrees or *saimon* 祭文 (a ceremonial address to the gods) were the ones that evoked his position at the centre of the universe and his role as the administrator of the cosmos. They also enhanced his ties to his divine ancestors and the highest-ranking *kami*, which provided legitimacy for his position in the bureaucratic state.

In times of crisis, prayers and offerings would be presented to the deities and rituals were performed in order to pacify them, which in itself constitutes a mode of communication initiated by the human realm. Some of these rituals required the practitioner to become one with, in most cases, a Buddhist deity, which represents an immediate link between both realms. However, this means of communication was restricted to only the most able and most spiritually efficacious ritual specialists. In this chapter, I would like to focus on written forms of communication that were directed at the deities, which can help to uncover more about the way in which the relationship between the two realms was perceived and how the meta-physical sphere was drawn upon to support claims relating to social and political conditions.

The analysis of the written sources presented to the deities enables us to ascertain how individual signs and omens were interpreted, as they often reflect doctrinal understandings of the cosmos and the way in which the external world was perceived and related to human actions. Moreover, they reflect the interests of certain parties at the court and which members were most interested in successful communication. Based upon this we can gain more insight into the groups that participated in this particular discourse and the information that was considered to be authoritative. The main aim of this chapter is to uncover the types of situation that initiated such attempts to contact the deities and whether characteristic tendencies emerge in terms of groups or individuals who

order to provide a comprehensive picture of the significance of the meta-physical discourse for the Heian period.

addressed certain deities and their reasons for doing so. In particular, it will be of interest to determine whether the meta-physical entities constituted a necessary interface between the realms and whether certain actors within the socio-political arena were exposed to certain types of information. These considerations can also shed more light on the epistemological processes, not only concerning the explanation of natural phenomena, but also the underlying rules for interacting with the meta-physical realm. It seems as if there were a number of guidelines that either encouraged or prevented certain types of communication that took place between a variety of actors, whether real or transcendent.

Ultimately, the issues that this chapter will uncover lead to questions relating to the arrangement and hierarchy of the prominent meta-physical discourses that were concerned with the protection of the state (*chingo kokka* 鎮護国家) and the position of the emperor in this world. The main problem involves the relation between the Buddhist cosmological framework and the discourse of the *jingi* that legitimised certain forms of power, especially in terms of their status within the body politic. It is unclear whether questions of authority were entirely separate, as represented by the *jingi* discourse that was kept distinct from others, or whether such issues should be read through the lens of the Buddhist cosmological framework. As a paradigm, Buddhism incorporated spheres that transcended the realm of the indigenous Japanese deities, as well as the various deities of the earth and Daoist entities, of which many were associated with the imperial lineage. While these are very broad questions and go beyond the confines of the research project, they inevitably arise from the material that has provided the basis for this thesis. Nevertheless, this chapter will address the intricacies regarding forms of communication with the meta-physical realm and the networks of divine and human agents, which I hope will uncover areas for further enquiry.

In the previous chapter, I examined very specific instances of meta-physical intervention that were used for socio-political ends in relation to ritual institutions. One keyword has emerged as a central concept regarding notions of power and their association with certain court factions, namely *tatari*. In chapter three, it was related to illness, which was itself a form of communication initiated by certain deities. In this chapter, the term appears in relation to nature and calamities as one of the central tenets associated with imperial authority.

1. Engaging with the meta-physical realm

1.1 The arrow of communication

Communication is generally defined as a process of interaction based on signals and messages among the members of certain categories, such as humans, animals, plants, machines, etc., or between different categories.³ This form of interaction implies a sender, a receiver, and a way in which information can be transmitted between the two based on a shared set of semiotic rules. The act of transmission further entails a specific way of encoding the message that can be understood by the counterpart, as well as the motive for initiating this correspondence. The message then has to be decoded by the receiver and a response may also form part of the communication cycle.

In our case, the generally accepted mode of communication when initiated by the meta-physical realm was that information was encoded in natural signs and omens. This could include the human body as a phenomenon in nature that could be affected by external influences causing illnesses, injuries, or even death.

³ Chandler, Daniel and Munday, Rod (eds.), *A Dictionary of Media and Communication*, <http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780199568758.001.0001/acref-9780199568758-e-413?rskey=ZrnR09&result=826> Accessed: 2019/03/19.

Nature and the appearance of anomalous signs presented the medium through which information from the deities or other forces was transmitted. These messages had to be deciphered by ritual specialists, which often resulted in competing interpretations. As we have seen previously, it was often the higher-ranking nobles who had commissioned these services who decided what type of information was authoritative. In most cases, the messages referred to situations that required immediate attention in the form of rituals or offerings and pacification. They thus contained an underlying request for action. When humans responded to these prompts by performing the appropriate actions, they completed the communication cycle by providing feedback.

Within communication theory, this is referred to as an interaction model, which understands communication to be a two-way process in which meanings are exchanged through interaction in situational contexts.⁴ However, in this particular case, we must be aware of the fact that the sender did not form part of the sphere of reality in which the recipients found themselves, which renders the whole process very abstract. It must nevertheless adhere to the commonly accepted rules generated by the episteme for the communication cycle to function in the first place. In accordance with these conventions, humans had to draw on their knowledge of the cosmos and be very cautious when observing their natural surroundings. One part of this cycle was thus always subject to assumptions and misunderstandings, which, in turn, could help to provide explanations for otherwise mysterious phenomena. The uncertainty itself represented a useful tool for approaching nature as a mode of thought and could thus also serve to manipulate certain perceptions of contexts in relation to court factions or ritual institutions as discussed in the previous chapter.

⁴ "Interaction model" in Chandler, Daniel and Munday, Rod (eds.), <http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780199568758.001.0001/acref-9780199568758-e-1378#> Accessed: 2019/03/19.

This chapter will focus on the opposite direction of the communicative process, namely on human attempts to gain the deities' attention and what this can reveal about underlying socio-political tensions and networks, as well as the significance of references to meta-physical entities. When the courtiers, monks or members of the imperial family tried to contact the deities directly, they would do so in the form of written reports that could take a number of different forms depending on the occasion, the sender, the context, and so on. It is thus apparent that humans could only contact the deities or the meta-physical realm more generally through the medium of culture and human-made technologies, which represents a further dimension to the nature-culture dialectic. Following a description of general, usually unfortunate circumstances, these reports often included a request for protection from the deity. They contain information on the way in which the relationship between the deities and the human sphere was conceived of in the minds of the Heian period elite, while simultaneously defining that relationship. However, there was no definite response from the deity and only certain events could be interpreted as a direct effect of their report, so that these cases represent incomplete communication cycles.⁵ They represent what is referred to as "transmission models", in which the sender transmits information to the receiver as a one-way process.⁶ We are thus confronted with two types of communication processes that were framed in different modes, namely in terms

⁵ In rare cases there is evidence of the efficacy of the reports made to the deities and the accompanying ritual services such as in the *Hyōhanki* in 1168, when, after the emperor addresses a decree to a variety of *kami* concerning the recent drought, rain falls miraculously a few days later. However, it is also apparent that the efficacy was based on the prayers and offerings and not necessarily on the decree itself, (86): 十三日：…天皇我詔旨止。掛畏支某大神乃廣前、恐恐申給申久、播殖之時雨澤順旬、農業可如意由、依例令祈申給先畢、而去月晦此、炎旱之氣殊熾、田園殆及焦損聞食、驚無極、…

十四日：自夜降雨、日来炎旱、仍昨日被發遣祈雨奉幣、…

⁶ "Transmission model" in Chandler, Daniel and Munday, Rod (eds.), <http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780199568758.001.0001/acref-9780199568758-e-2833#> Accessed: 2019/03/19.

of nature (signs and omens) and culture (concerns captured in words), that were assumed to be mutually accessible.

1.2 Written forms of communication and the formation of groups

The material presented in this chapter consists of four main categories that were used to address written reports and prayers to the deities, namely, *ganmon* 願文, *saimon* 祭文, *kōmon* 告文, and imperial decrees, *chokushi* 詔旨.⁷ Based on the variations in nuance and orientation among these different types of documents, we can infer that certain restrictions were placed upon them either in terms of content, or the groups of people who adhered to certain constraints when it came to selecting the appropriate written medium for their cause. The formation of groups that these genre conventions foreshadow will become even more pronounced when the discourse of legitimising imperial authority and its inherent doctrinal aspects are introduced in the next part of this chapter. It is thus important to identify the social agents and their objectives before addressing the overarching questions of the cosmological framework and modes of thought.

Although *ganmon* are defined as written prayers to the deities to ask for help and protection, they are usually composed in the Buddhist context for occasions such as the construction of a new temple, the manufacturing of statues, the presentation of scriptures to an institution, or other Buddhist rituals. While these texts usually invoke Buddhist deities, the *kami* can form part of a group that is addressed and appear alongside the Buddhist ones, often as seemingly inferior entities. As such, they mostly express the wishes of the person who sponsored

⁷ This chapter draws mostly on compendia of Heian-period documents, namely the *Chōyagunsai*, *Honchō monzui*, *Gunsho Ruijū*, and various records of Iwashimizu (石清田中 and 石清付, which are both available from the *Shiryō Hensanjo komonjo* database), as well as a few diaries, which will be cited accordingly.

the rituals.⁸ The materials collected for this chapter show that the *ganmon* were either written by high-ranking courtiers and priests, or by scribes from the clans associated with intellectual pursuits at the court and learning. While the Sugawara are also prominent representatives of this tradition, it is the Ōe clan that stands out particularly in the documents of relevance here.⁹

The Ōe represent a line of professional scholars who inherited their positions at the State Academy (Daigakuryō 大学寮), where they competed with the Sugawara for acknowledgement and sponsorship from the court.¹⁰ They provided the nobility with prayer texts in return for rewards and patronage, based upon which certain ties formed between members of the court and specific literati. They frequently composed texts for the Fujiwara regents, as is evidenced by, for instance, Ōe no Masahira's 大江匡衡 (952-1012) *ganmon* for Michinaga in 1005 and 1007,¹¹ and Ōe no Mochitoki's 大江以言 (955-1010) *saimon* for Fujiwara no Yukinari 藤原行成 (972-1027) in 1007.¹² Other members of this lineage seem to have focussed their attentions more on the emperor, such as Ōe no Koretoki 大江維時 (888-963), who produced a document for Murakami Tennō's rituals in 947 and 963,¹³ and Ōe no Asatsuna 大江朝綱 (886-957), who presented a *ganmon* for the performance of *shuhō* to the imperial residence in 947.¹⁴ These examples

⁸ Yoshino Mizue, Matsuoka Tomoyuki, Okada Akiko, "Heian jidai ni okeru josei no tsumi wo meguru gensetsu no rufu to henyō — ganmon wo kiten toshite —". *Surugadai University Studies* 45 (2012), 1.

⁹ There are at least fifteen examples of *ganmon* and *saimon* contained in my sample of sources written by members of the Ōe clan either on behalf of high-ranking courtiers and even Emperor Murakami, or, in rarer cases, for their own benefit. A table of the different types of reports, their authors and the respective dates when they were written can be found in appendix 7.

¹⁰ See Ury, Marian, and Robert Borgen. "Ōe No Masafusa and the Practice of Heian Autobiography". *Monumenta Nipponica* 51 (1997), 145.

¹¹ 1005/10/19 (*Honchō monzui*, vol. 14, no. 379 and *Midō kanpakuki*, 162), 1007/12/02 (*Honchō monzui*, vol. 14, no. 380).

¹² 1007/01/01 (*Honchō monzui*, vol. 14, no. 367).

¹³ 947/03/17 (*Honchō monzui*, vol. 14, no. 382) and 963/03/19 (*Honchō monzui*, vol. 14, no. 378).

¹⁴ 947/03/28 (*Honchō monzui*, vol. 14, no. 383).

seem to indicate the growing prominence of the Fujiwara regents at the beginning of the eleventh century, since they could commission such documents from some of the most learned men of the country. Furthermore, since these prayer texts were recited in front of an audience, the document itself was ritualised and played a central role in court ritual.¹⁵ As we shall see, these documents contained doctrinal aspects that were thus presided over by such scholars as the Ōe and expressed their view of the cosmos that was coloured by Chinese learning at the highest levels of society. Such patron-client relations determined, in part, the formulation of cosmological concerns that shaped epistemological processes regarding legitimacy and authority.

Saimon are also considered to be a form of written address to the deities or liturgical texts that were recited during ceremonies at the respective ritual institutions. Hence, the presentation of texts such as *ganmon* or *saimon* occurred as part of a process through which select institutions received material benefits and ceremonial attention from the court. This, in turn, displays the links between certain social agents or factions and their preferred ritual institutions that they turned to in times of crisis or need. Most of the documents that have been examined for this chapter imply such circumstances and the impact of detrimental meta-physical forces that needed to be removed. These texts could be composed by a variety of people, such as the emperor himself, the retired emperor, high-ranking court officials, Ōe scribes, or, they could be written on behalf of the emperor or regents.¹⁶ They include the *kami* as the main object of their attempt to contact the invisible realm more often than the *ganmon*. However, they also often invoke Buddhist cosmology and could be written by monks. In the

¹⁵ Steininger, *Chinese Literary Forms in Heian Japan* 66-68.

¹⁶ See, for instance, 975/08/13 *saimon* for Kameyama by imperial prince Minamoto no Kaneakira (*Chōyagunsai* 55-56); 1078/03/19 Ōe no Masafusa's *saimon* on behalf of the courtiers for a poetry contest addressed to Umemiya (*Chōyagunsai* 57-58); 1101/01/21 *saimon* for the Northern Dipper by the retired emperor Shirakawa (*Chōyagunsai* 51-52); 1161 *saimon* by the monk Kakusei of Ishiyamadera (*Heian ibun* vol.7, no. 3155).

case of the rulers, they could involve deities of an ambiguous nature that, as we shall see, served to enhance the emperor's claims to authority as expressed symbolically through deities such as the Iwashimizu Hachiman *bosatsu* 石清水八幡宮菩薩, Myōken 妙見/Hokushin 北辰 and the Hokuto 北斗 constellation.

Just like the previous two types of documents addressed to the gods, *kōmon* were similarly presented to the deities and sought to convey certain wishes or prayers to them. They were, however, written in the style of imperial edicts and the examples that I have dealt with here were all composed by members of the Fujiwara clan. In some instances, lower-ranking members of the family who were professional literati wrote such *kōmon* on behalf of either higher-ranking Fujiwara officials in positions such as the *daijō daijin* or regent, or the emperor himself.¹⁷ It seems as if originally these documents were presented to imperial ancestral *kami* and imperial mausoleums and then burnt after they had been recited, which is why none of the original sources has been preserved.¹⁸ It is thus interesting to note that they emerged in the hands of the Fujiwara in the eleventh century as they had originally been reserved for the emperors and special occasions such as enthronements or changes of era names. This adoption of a method of communicating with the deities is yet a further indication of how the Fujiwara appropriated techniques associated with the highest spheres of power in order to secure their position.

The last category comprises imperial decrees that were addressed to the *kami* by the emperor. The most significant aspect associated with these decrees is that the emperor never addresses any Buddhist deities, with the exception of

¹⁷ 1047/02/14, Fujiwara no Yorimichi's (regent) *kōmon* concerning a construction project at Kasuga Shrine (*Chōyagunsai*, 50); 1085/10/01, Fujiwara no Nobunaga's (*daijō daijin*) *kōmon* regarding the construction of Kujō hall written by Fujiwara no Narisue (dates unknown), an instructor of composition 文章博士 *bunshō hakase* (*Chōyagunsai*, 50); 1103/05/04, a Tendai address to Myōken/Hokushin in the name of the emperor (Horikawa) written by the scholar Fujiwara no Masaie (1026-1111) (*Chōyagunsai*, 48).

¹⁸ *Sekai daihakkyō jiten*, <https://kotobank.jp/word/告文-497337> Accessed: 2019/03/22.

Hachiman *bosatsu*, who, although Buddhist in appearance, constituted a slightly different type of entity, as I will discuss below. When the emperor addressed these kinds of proclamation to the *kami*, they usually concerned problems relating to specific ritual institutions or represented requests for meta-physical assistance in times of hardship when calamities or strange occurrences disrupted the usual proceedings. Obvious examples of such decrees are prayers for rain, a good harvest,¹⁹ or asking for help to ward off evil influences after a calamity that had been ascertained to be due to *mono*, as is the case in a document written by Emperor Murakami (926-967) in 961. He addresses Hachiman at Usa Shrine and presents offerings, as there had been various strange events in the heavens and on earth, which are described as *mokke*, and thus asks the deity for assistance in warding off *mono* (厚助廣惠依、可拂除物).²⁰

Based on this brief overview, we can ascertain that various forms of communication were available to members of the court who held positions of a fairly high rank. However, boundaries between certain groups or individuals and the types of meta-physical entities they could address can also be identified easily. It seems as if there were a number of restrictions with regard to the hierarchy of the court, and the media they could use to communicate with an equally hierarchically structured meta-physical realm. The most obvious distinction is made between the emperor, who addressed the highest-ranking *kami* and those Buddhist-inspired or Buddho-Daoist entities that symbolically asserted his position at the centre of the state and the cosmos. The other courtiers were able to draw freely upon Buddhist cosmology and to frame their concerns in terms of Buddhist doctrine, which results in two separate discourses and different modes of thought for interpreting certain situations. It is this conscious distinction,

¹⁹ See, for example, 963/06/09, prayers for rain (*Chōyagunsai*, 313); 1019/02/20, prayer for a good harvest (*Chōyagunsai* 312).

²⁰ *Komonjo*, vol. 2, 61. Available from the *Shiryō Hensanjo* database.

which was framed in meta-physical terms, that I would like to consider in more detail in this chapter. Moreover, the issues that the emperor addresses in his decrees, reflect matters of national concern. He alone had the right to appeal to these deities and interact with their associated ritual institutions based upon the logic of the mirrored hierarchies. In the following sections I would like to consider the mechanisms through which this discourse was kept distinct from others and how other discourses were formed around this central system of symbols.²¹

1.3 Interaction with the meta-physical realm as a form of capital

The fact that certain modes of communication with the meta-physical realm were reserved for the ruler indicates that notions of power were also derived, in part, from that invisible realm. Just as we have seen in chapter three, the targets of *tatari* in association with a certain institution (under specific conditions) were some of the most influential people who had the means to actively promote institutions that felt neglected or became the target of the schemes initiated by their rivals. In the reverse direction, the modes of interacting with only certain deities or traditions of thought depending on one's status and position at the court, uncovers the socio-political nature of these types of communication. Their value as a form of non-material capital is informed by the inherent nature of communication itself as an exchange of information. The simple distinction between the ruler himself and the other courtiers as well as the respective deities that could be appealed to, determined the degree of authority of the information received and the scope of its impact. In the case of imperial decrees or meta-

²¹ I would like to emphasise here that the points made reflect very specific conditions and that these observations by no means imply that the emperor never engaged with Buddhist practices. This discourse is isolated here for the purposes of analysing the way in which imperial authority was supported in interaction with the meta-physical realm that symbolically created a boundary between the emperor and the rest of the high nobility.

physical forces that attacked the emperor's body directly, the information often concerned the whole nation due to the threat of calamities.

We are thus presented with different social actors who participated in one overarching discourse in which the meta-physical realm is seen to encompass and frame human existence. Nevertheless, their purposes and objectives differ, which results in subdivisions of further discourses in relation to interactions with the other world. These social actors can be effectively placed in a field, to use Bourdieu's notion of the term, as these modes of communication are produced "in a particular social universe endowed with particular institutions and obeying specific laws."²² By inserting the category of a "field", it is possible to isolate the discourse that centres on the exchange of information and the respective goals of the social agent. Thus, the different themes that appear can be analysed in relation to questions of power and authority, which, in Bourdieu's field, are correlated with the accumulation of capital.

According to Bourdieu himself, the task of situating certain agents and resources in a field represents a structural approach that can shed more light on the types of forces that are predominant in the field as well as the accepted modes of authority. If the field to be isolated in the Heian-period context is regarded as an independent social universe, in which modes of authority are expressed through the type of interaction that an individual or a group can pursue with the meta-physical realm, the positions of each social agent can be described whilst simultaneously evoking the relations to other social agents. The position that a social agent had in this realm was mirrored by the entities that that agent could address in the meta-physical realm. These relations describe the fundamental

²² Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 163. Although Bourdieu refers specifically to the production of literary works, I believe that the overall theoretical assertions that he applies to that specific context can be fruitfully applied to the situation under consideration here. This is especially pertinent since we are looking at notions that are culturally produced and Bourdieu's ideas can help to define the relations between these social agents as well as their objectives and motives.

laws of this particular field. Ultimately, they point to the modes of interpretation generated by the episteme.

The social agents I will focus on in this chapter comprise the emperors, imperial princes, the Fujiwara, and the courtiers in general with respect to the transition of power from the *sekkanke* to the *insei* period. These groups will be related to the meta-physical discourses that they were associated with, such as Buddhism and the *jingi* cult, or the higher-ranking deities in relation to those of lower status.²³ The participation of these particular agents in this discourse implies that such discussions refer to positions of authority in the Heian state. They are thus situated in a field of forces and of struggles that, in this thesis, is expressed in meta-physical terms rather than the material terms that were envisaged by Bourdieu.

We may define the relations of force within this field in terms of the attention that the agents received from meta-physical entities and, conversely, the access they had to particular entities. This aspect of attention received from the invisible realm could also take the form of negative influences, which often stood in direct relation to the power that certain individuals held. The criticism that was expressed through meta-physical sanctions in the form of illnesses or calamities, as discussed in the previous chapters, mostly affected those in positions of power and was often related to specific ritual institutions.²⁴ This symbolic representation of power relations in association with the meta-physical realm creates a tension between the different positions in the field and determines the strategies that could be used by the individual agents. As Bourdieu notes, these strategies “depend for the force and form on the position

²³ These differentiations between the Fujiwara and other courtiers and between the periods of the *sekkanke* and the rule by retired emperors emerge based on the arguments made in the previous chapter.

²⁴ I do not wish to imply that all forms of communication with the meta-physical realm were based on these assumptions. However, in these particular circumstances, the tensions between these groups display an inherent relation to notions of power and authority.

each agent occupies in the power relations,”²⁵ which is exactly how the means of communicating with the deities appears in Heian Japan.

The field is further divided into the space²⁶ of positions, which constitutes the predetermined aspect of each social agent’s position, and the space of position-takings, which denotes the dynamic aspect of the relations between social agents. The space of positions is defined by the occupation of a position in relation to the distribution of specific capital and, consequently, the possession of a certain amount of capital. In contrast, the space of position-takings encompasses the objectives of the agents in terms of improving their position in the field and their manifestations in certain parts of the field. In relation to other position-takings, they can be impacted negatively by being determined through their coexistence with other position-takings, and thus delimited.²⁷ I would like to suggest that the capital in terms of our Heian-period context should be understood to consist of both physical and meta-physical components. The capital could be described as the resources, both material and human, that were available to the social agents when presenting offerings to the deities.²⁸ The physical component further encompassed the degree of access to specific deities in order to gain worldly benefits as well as transcendent legitimacy, depending on the situation. The meta-physical capital could be of a purely symbolic nature by drawing on inferences that supported certain claims, such as the divine

²⁵ Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 30.

²⁶ According to Bourdieu the field is characterised by the relations between the interdependent positions. Space is defined as “the structured set of manifestations of the social agents involved in the field” (= position-takings) and the “possession of a determinate quantity of specific capital” (= positions), 30. This means that the field encompasses the range of possibilities and interrelations, while space becomes associated with certain loci, with the positions and position-takings acting as markers within the field.

²⁷ Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 30-31, 163-164.

²⁸ A good example is, for instance, the birth of an imperial prince in 1124, as it demonstrates the vast number of people that had to be mobilised to attend the birth and perform rituals, as well as provide the resources needed for the rituals. In this example, a large number of Sōgō monks had been summoned to the palace to recite *dhāraṇī* and perform *kaji*, while *sutras* would have been chanted at the temples, and *onmyōji* performed purification ceremonies. See *Eishōki*, 1124/05/28, 169.

descent of the emperor. Capital is thus expressed in terms of authority and the power to manipulate authoritative information.

This results in the structuring of communication processes as we can observe them for the Heian period. The higher one's position in the field, the more capital was available to a certain participant or a faction to communicate with the correlated forces in the meta-physical realm. However, this position-taking, e.g. the role of the emperor, also had to be defended in the dynamic field of interactions with other agents. Coexisting position-takings would seek to gain more control over certain forms of capital, which could also take the form of authoritative knowledge regarding the state of the meta-physical realm in relation to mundane reality. This has been demonstrated in chapter three based on the ritual strategies used to draw attention to certain institutions and specific people. I would now like to illustrate these points based on the material collected from various primary sources and examine the way in which certain discourses were favoured over others in this particular context of gaining legitimacy through the manipulation of meta-physical beliefs.

1.4 The social agents and their means of communication

In order to compare different groups and their interests to each other, their means of communicating with the deities, as well as the main themes and contexts will be examined separately. I will begin with the courtiers in general, then the Fujiwara, the imperial prince Minamoto no Kaneakira (914-987), and finally the emperors. This structure generally reflects the hierarchy of positions these groups held at the court, since, for most of the Heian period, the Fujiwara received the highest ranks by monopolising posts such as the Minister of the Left and Right, the *daijō daijin*, or the regent (*kanpaku*) through their ties with the imperial family.

1.4.1 The Courtiers

Beginning with the contexts of these written addresses to the gods up until the *insei* period, the majority of the documents are framed in Buddhist terms. There is only one exception in which the *kami* of Umemiya shrine is addressed in 1078 to report the proceedings of a poetry contest to the deity in the form of a *saimon* and express the courtiers' gratitude that the deity has looked favourably upon their event.²⁹ Many of the *ganmon* represent prayers for a deceased family member forty-nine days after their deaths, displaying the more mundane aspects of everyday life for the courtiers.³⁰ Others concern the performance of rituals on specific occasions or the accumulation of good deeds for shrines, which integrate the *kami* associated with them into the Buddhist framework. From this vantage point, we may infer that Buddhism constituted the overarching discourse at least for the general social stratum of the courtiers, which is apparent from the way in which they express their attitudes towards the *kami*. Interestingly enough, many contexts in which the *kami* are mentioned specifically relate to the composition of works in Japanese, specifically *waka* poetry, and Sugawara no Michizane, i.e. Kitano Tenjin 北野天神, who is still associated with the literary arts and scholarship today. As the following examples will demonstrate, the roles of the *kami* were reduced to certain areas of life and many attempts were made to integrate the *kami* discourse into the Buddhist framework and to confirm its continued validity.

²⁹ 1078/03/19 (*Chōyagunsai*, 57-58). The document was composed by Ōe no Masafusa on behalf of "the minister of repairs of the lower fourth rank, protector of Ōmi province, Tachibana no Toshitsuna (1028-1094) and twenty-two others" participating in this contest.

³⁰ See, for instance, the *ganmon* by the Ariwara family in 943 (*Chōyagunsai*, 29), or by Minamoto no Takaakira in 947 (*Chōyagunsai*, 30-31), which were written in conjunction with the sutra recitations that were performed for the deceased.

In Ōe no Masafusa's *saimon* for the poetry contest, a direct link is established between the composition of poetry and the worship of the *kami*. *Waka* poetry as an inherently Japanese form of literary expression is equated with indigenous beliefs in the *kami*, which are equally restricted to Japan and mark the territorial extent of the country by populating it. This might suggest to the reader that, in comparison with Buddhism as a transcultural movement, which represented a far more comprehensive belief system, the domain of the influence of the *kami* was much smaller. Ōe no Masafusa writes the following in relation to the *kami*: "Unless we are looked upon favourably in the realm of the gods, how can we receive praise in our human domain? *Waka*, in particular, as a custom of our country, have the ability to move heaven and earth. There is nothing that can surpass this to win the praise of the gods and receive divine protection."³¹

This passage seems to constitute a defence of *waka* poetry and the pursuit of literary forms of expression in a time when the world was increasingly being defined in Buddhist terms. The significance of the composition of *waka* as a means to win the favour of the gods is highlighted, which simultaneously functions as a justification for engaging in such worldly pastimes as poetry contests.³² The favour of the particular *kami* addressed here was seen to assist one group in winning the competition based on appropriate offerings and other provisions, and the document expresses gratitude for the divine assistance received.³³ However, statements such as these also present a stark contrast to the general feelings of the declining respect towards the *kami*, which can be traced

³¹ 1078/03/19 (*Chōyagunsai*, 57-58): 自非神道之眷顧。爭致人間之褒譽。就中和歌者。我國之風俗。動天地。感神明莫過於斯。蒙冥助。

³² The sentiment expressed in this passage evokes the later development of *waka* becoming imbued with the power of the Buddhist *dharma* and thus becoming equivalent to *dhāraṇī*. For more information, see Breen and Teeuwen, *A New History of Shinto*, 141-142.

³³ 太神厚御願。廣御助可有。念給。故是以吉日良辰擇定。礼代御幣奉。太神是狀平聞食。風情神之又神令施給。

through numerous examples when *tatari* and other misfortunes are ascribed to a neglect of the *kami* or a lack of sincere belief.³⁴ The emphasis placed on both of these aspects demonstrates a great degree of concern regarding the place of the *kami* discourse in the daily lives of the courtiers and the cosmos overall.

In 1106, in another *saimon*, Ōe no Masafusa presents a similar view regarding the *kami*, when he is faced with his own illness.³⁵ This document displays some of the logical aspects that were applied to beliefs in the *kami* and emphasises the importance of appeasing the *kami* when angered, which implies that he believes his illness to be due to his own neglectful behaviour. In his address to the deity of Hie shrine he writes: “At this particular shrine, if the wish of the *kami* is not granted, incidents will arise of themselves and there will be fear of this small piece of land ... But because there is clear belief, we can eternally prevent mistakes and *tatari*.”³⁶ These attitudes reflect the continued importance of the *kami*, who retained their explanatory power when illnesses and calamities occurred, and are indicative of the processes of coordination that took place in order to reconcile this discourse with the overarching Buddhist framework.

Almost a century earlier, Yoshishige no Yasutane 慶滋保胤 (933-1002), who was also a Heian-period scholar and Confucianist, like the members of the Ōe family, and who had studied under Sugawara no Fumitoki, wrote a *ganmon* for Sugawara no Michizane’s mausoleum in 986. This document concerns Yasutane’s own spiritual path and his achievement in finally entering the Buddhist Way late in his life, since he took his vows in that same year. Originally of Kamo lineage,

³⁴ See, for example, *Chūyūki*, 1104, vol. 5, 178: Jingikan’s divination concerning *tatari*: 神事不信不淨, of which there are a number of other examples in the same source; *Hyōhanki* 1167, vol. 3, 276: Jingikan’s divination concerning *tatari*: 神事違例不信所. It is interesting to note that such assertions occur more frequently from the late eleventh century onwards.

³⁵ The *Gunsho ruijū* contains a collection of Masafusa’s *gammon* in scroll 827, but a proper examination of all of those documents as a means to ascertain Masafusa’s views regarding the deities would go beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it presents an interesting avenue for further exploration.

³⁶ *Chōyagunsai*, 58-59: 當社事於。神慮不允沙汰之自有。寸地之恐。… 依此明信。永止咎崇。

Yasutane asserts that it was his reverent devotion to the imperial shrines and the Buddhist law that enabled him to rise through the ranks and gain prominence at the court.³⁷ He interprets his success as being the design of heaven and the blessing of the *kami*.³⁸ Again, belief in the *kami* is correlated directly with poetry through the appeal to Sugawara no Michizane, the ancestor of the way of letters. Michizane here becomes a symbol of the transformative powers of Buddhism that were able to pacify his vengeful spirit and turn him into a benevolent god of learning. Through this process, his shrine is also part of the Buddhist universe, and appears in the context of accumulating good deeds for shrines within the *Honchō monzui*.

While he recognises that the law of the one vehicle requires him to distance himself from the world, it appears as if he is still attached to literary composition, which he describes as “the play of flowery words and beautiful language” (花言綺語之遊), which in itself is reminiscent of the concept of *kyōgen kigo* 狂言綺語 and the Buddhist criticism of the pursuit of worldly pastimes.³⁹ As part of this association of the composition of literature as an impediment to enlightenment with the teaching of the one vehicle, he asks: “What advantage does the play of flowery words and beautiful language have in terms of the *kami*?”⁴⁰ There is thus, epistemologically speaking, a direct link between the pursuit of the literary arts and beliefs in the gods. However, this question also implies that there was a specific mode of expression or language that was associated with the *kami* and was appropriate in that context. *Waka* poetry, as we saw in one of the previous examples, was representative of the country of Japan,

³⁷ 986/07/20 (*Honchō monzui*, vol. 13, no. 376) 沙彌某前白佛言：「往年為榮分，為聲名，祈廟社，祈佛法，有日矣。」遂其大成，徙于微官。

³⁸ 是天之工也，是神之福也。

³⁹ For a discussion of the concept, see LaFleur, *The Karma of Words*, chapter 1.

⁴⁰ 花言綺語之遊，何益於神道。

and thus coextensive with the sphere of the *kami*. Conceptually, we must assume that they formed a unit.

Buddhism is then introduced into this equation, which creates a contrast: “It is the law of the rare and difficult to understand that brings about the realisation of the Buddha’s body.”⁴¹ While the wording of this statement implies that Buddhism was considered to be superior, it is apparent that both were regarded as legitimate aspects of the overarching cosmological framework and that they required their own modes of interaction, language, and proper worship. The passage reflects an inner struggle, which perhaps epitomises the difficulties associated with the subsuming of the *kami* discourse under the comprehensive Buddhist interpretative framework and what that meant for those Japanese arts that presented an indigenous mode of expression.

There is a tangible tension between Buddhism and the *jingi* cult throughout this period and an uncertainty regarding the position of the native deities in the Buddhist construction of the cosmos. This group of courtiers appears to be fairly consistent in their perception of the status of the *kami*, but there is also a marked attempt to reconcile these differing cosmological structures. We must also be aware of the fact that this view was promoted by the literati who composed these documents. In most cases, these literati were members of the Ōe clan, and it seems reasonable to conclude that their opinions were accepted with a certain degree of authority by the court officials.

As a final example, I would like to consider the following *ganmon* by Ōe no Masahira regarding the recitation of the *Great Wisdom Sutra* at Atsuta Shrine as a means of accumulating good deeds for the deity in 1004.⁴² The document is presented to the Three Treasures of Buddhism, namely the Buddha, the Buddhist

⁴¹ 希有難解之法，可期其佛身。Note also the parallel construction of these two sentences, which seem to form a direct opposition.

⁴² 1004/10/14 *Honchō monzui*, vol. 14, no. 377.

Law, and the community of monks and nuns (Buddha, *dharma*, *sangha*), while the aim of the text is to increase “the good roots” (善根) of the shrine, which shall be achieved with the help of the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sutra*.⁴³ The fact that it is not addressed to the deity of the shrine seems to indicate that the value of the shrine as an asset to the Buddhist Way needed to be ascertained.

The *ganmon* was written in the context of a flood and a severe drought that had beset the populace of Owari Province in that year. After the formal address, the country is contrasted with the human body in an almost parallel construction, which states the following: “The country, even if it is in decline, has [displayed] some regulative measures, but also some [expressions of] greed and desire. The body, even if it is impoverished, cannot obtain such matters by itself.”⁴⁴ For this reason and because of the ancient customs, Atsuta shrine should disseminate the teaching of the aforementioned Sutra. This passage seems to imply that the deity of the shrine, and thus, by extension, all *kami*, are in need of the external assistance that can be provided by Buddhism. Notions of purity, which constituted a prominent feature of beliefs in the *kami* as well as in Buddhism, are employed to describe the benefits of Buddhism for the shrine. Acts of compassion were thought to remove all misfortune that may affect the ruler, namely Ichijō Tennō, who is described as a *cakravartin*, a wheel-turning sage king, and the *kanpaku*, who, at the time, was Fujiwara no Michinaga. The text first states that “if there is pure belief, then the water of the impure lake will not cause *kegare*. If there are fragrant conditions, the flowers of wisdom and kindness will open of themselves”, which seems to imply that, fundamentally, both traditions are concerned with the same ideals. Further on in this document, in between the

⁴³ *Honchō monzui*, vol. 14, no. 377: 白佛法僧言…若不殖善根於此地，何必閑素之儒者，得書大般若。

⁴⁴ 國雖衰，少治術，少貪欲。
身雖貧，事不獲已。

well-wishes to the ruler and the *kanpaku*, it is once again emphasised that “when everything below heaven is pure, the Buddhist law prospers.”⁴⁵

In another parallel construction, the performance of Buddhist services is compared to the authority of the *kami*: “We must exhaust our sincerity when performing the Buddhist services, so that we may take refuge in the practising bodies of the ever-wailing bodhisattvas. We must apportion our meagre resources in order to decorate the *kami*, so that we may rely on the traces of Atsuta Gongen.”⁴⁶ This quotation could be read as a comparison of consequences if either one or the other is neglected. It is stated clearly that the value of Buddhism is estimated to be higher than that of the *kami*, who are described as traces of the Buddhist deities, and thus the repercussions of neglecting the Buddhist law are more severe. However, this passage also expresses the compatibility of these two discourses, as they are seen to represent two aspects of a fundamental unity.

These few examples have thus displayed the way in which these two traditions were perceived in relation to each other among the scholars and court nobles of the Heian period. This attitude affected the way in which they approached the deities and interpreted their roles within the overarching framework. Nevertheless, the association of the appearance of calamities with services to be performed for Atsuta shrine as a means to raise its status, also implies that the *kami* were seen to be the cause of those calamities. It is within the discourse of the impact that meta-physical influences could have on the mundane realm, that questions regarding the status of these belief systems arise.

⁴⁵ 苟有潔信，潢汚之水非穢。苟有香緣，智惠之花自開。… 忝捧惠業，奉祈金輪聖主。增長福壽，圓滿御願。澄清天下，興隆佛法。復誓護左府殿下，息災延命，千秋萬歲。仰願諸佛，知見證明。

⁴⁶ 碎丹心而營佛事，還類常啼菩薩之售身，
割薄俸而飭神威，只恃熱田權現之垂跡。

The ever-wailing bodhisattvas are protectors of the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sutra*. See 常啼菩薩 on <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=常啼菩薩> Accessed: 2019/03/28 and Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, vol. 3, 2413-2414.

In terms of the position of this particular group of nobles within the field of relations, we may situate them at the further end of the larger field of communication processes in opposition to the pole associated with more authoritative forms. While a variety of means of communication were available to this group, they only rarely specify the deity that is addressed in these documents and are mostly of a more general nature.⁴⁷ In the rare cases in which certain *kami* are addressed, they are usually of a fairly low rank within the overall imperial system. In the examples discussed here, both deities, namely those of Umemiya and Hie Shrines, belong to the lower group of the twenty-two shrines system. The nature of the concerns that are brought to the deities' attention in these writings are quite small in scope and generally only affect an individual or a small group. These aspects relate to the composition of the capital that was at the courtiers' disposal and thus confirms their position at a distance from more authoritative claims within the field.

1.4.2 The Fujiwara

Based on the tendencies discovered in the previous chapter, it makes sense to examine the documents written by members of the Fujiwara clan in isolation, and to differentiate between the period of Fujiwara dominance and the rule by retired emperors. Similarly, because Fujiwara no Michinaga represents the height of the clan's power, his actions with respect to the meta-physical sphere will be of importance when contrasted with the later *insei* period, when the Fujiwara lost much of their influence at court. It is in the latter part of the Heian period that the Fujiwara began to compose documents for higher-ranking officials or the emperor with more frequency and that their writings displayed a wider variety

⁴⁷ In Buddhist contexts, the expression 白仏言, is often used as an address.

of influences. Up until the late eleventh century, most of the extant addresses to the gods⁴⁸ were again framed in terms of the Buddhist discourse, such as performing ritual services for deceased ancestors and relatives⁴⁹ or for specific ritual institutions and deities. There is one exception, however, namely a *kōmon* regarding the Kasuga-Kōfukuji multiplex in 1047, which involves a description of the relations between the Fujiwara and the imperial family. Due to the Fujiwara's marriage politics, the high-ranking Fujiwara officials were related to the emperors and empresses, which means that their lineages merged to a certain degree. This, as we shall see, had an impact on the configuration of the associated meta-physical discourses. The only address to the deities that is not a *ganmon* and contains no Buddhist elements is, significantly, one that relates to concerns of the imperial family.⁵⁰

As I have indicated previously, it is of utmost importance to analyse the types of attitude that are expressed towards the deities, especially the *kami*, and statements that can tell us more about prominent modes of thought. In 1005, Michinaga decides to begin with the construction of Jōmyōji 淨妙寺 and Ōe no Masahira composed a *ganmon* for the services to be performed there. After listing Michinaga's success and the reasons for choosing this particular location for the construction of a new temple in his service, the document reveals towards the end that it is addressed to the Buddha Shakyamuni (Shaka *nyorai* 釈迦如来), the great vehicle of the *Lotus Sutra*, the *dharma* teacher of the mysterious light, and Fugen bodhisattva (Fugen *bosatsu* 普賢菩薩). They are supposed to bear witness to the success and virtue of his plans when entering the temple. He also addresses

⁴⁸ While my set of data may not be exhaustive, I have tried to use the best-known compendia of official documents as my basis, which has resulted in the different sets of examples as they are represented here. Unfortunately, there is often only a small number of documents to draw on.

⁴⁹ See, for example, *Honchō monzui*, vol. 14, no. 397: a *ganmon* written by Fujiwara no Tanemitsu in the intercalary eighth month of 985 concerning the services for the forty-ninth day after her death.

⁵⁰ 1047/02/14, *Chōyagunsai*, 50-51.

the heavenly and earthly deities within this Buddhist context, as well as the ancestral spirits and good deities of this particular mountain, who, when wearing the clothes of the Buddha, assume the standing of the bodhisattvas.⁵¹ It continues the theme of integrating the native *kami* into the Buddhist framework, as it has already been encountered among the rest of the court nobility. This same event is also recorded by Michinaga himself in his *Midō kanpakuki*. After burning incense and lighting the lamps for purification, he writes that “this prayer is not a means to achieve splendour, worldly benefits, longevity or good fortune, it is for the various deceased spirits of the mountain, such as the elders and the deceased mothers.”⁵² He wants to pray for the souls of the deceased so that they may be guided to the Buddha’s paradise. For that reason, and with a purified heart, he addresses the document to Shakyamuni and Fugen.⁵³

When services were performed again at Jōmyōji in 1007 to celebrate its completion, the *kami* were similarly portrayed as being a beneficial force within the cosmos that can enhance certain effects. This document was also written by Ōe no Masahira and addressed to the same Buddhist deities in addition to Kannon 觀音 and Monju *bodhisattva* 文殊菩薩 while drawing upon Buddhist symbolism. The text states that the “heavenly and earthly deities also enter into the practice⁵⁴ of the Buddha’s kindness and thus increase the light. The sacred spirits and the wronged spirits shall be bathed in the shower of the Buddhist *dharma* and thus released from pollution.”⁵⁵ A clear view of the *kami* is depicted in these

⁵¹ *Honchō monzui*, vol. 13, no. 379: 1005/10/19: 敬禮釋迦多寶，妙法大乘，妙光法師、普賢菩薩，入此道場，證明功德。天神地祇，及茲山幽靈善神等，被如來之衣，著菩薩之座。

⁵² *Midō kanpakuki*, vol. 1, 162: 白仏言、此願非為現世榮耀・壽命福祿、只座此山先考・先妣及奉始昭宣（藤原基經）公諸亡靈、…来来一門人々、為引導極樂也…

⁵³ *Midō kanpakuki*, vol. 1, 162: 心中清淨、顏釈迦大師・普賢菩薩自證明給。

⁵⁴ 向（こう）: “to enter into religious practice”, “the period in which religious practices are orientated towards enlightenment”. See Nakamura, *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, 390.

⁵⁵ *Honchō monzui*, vol. 13, no. 380, 1007/12/02: 天神地祇，向惠日而增光。精靈冤魂，浴法雨而離垢。

documents, which Michinaga must have agreed with if he commissioned Masahira to compose these *ganmon* for him. One could argue that the *kami* appear in this way because they were included in a document that was ultimately presented to a Buddhist ritual institution. However, I have not managed to find any texts that present us with a different perspective. As we shall see, these notions alone and the general approach of the courtiers when addressing the deities is enough to demonstrate the discrepancy between the “regular” meta-physical discourse and that reserved specifically for the emperors.

In 1047, Michinaga’s son, the *kanpaku* Fujiwara no Yorimichi, addressed the deity/mausoleum of Saho mountain (佐保山推崗廬). Sahoyama is an area in Nara where a number of emperors and empresses were buried, such as Shōmu Tennō 聖武天皇 (701-756).⁵⁶ The document relates specifically to the construction of further halls and buildings at the mausoleum, which is described as belonging to Kōfukuji, for the subsequent empresses and great ministers. Based on the fluctuations regarding spiritual efficacy, the emperor and the empress have been helping the *daijin* because they stem from the same lineage.⁵⁷ This text presents one of the most remarkable passages concerning the relations between the Fujiwara and the imperial family towards the end of the era of *sekkanke* dominance. The emperor at the time was Go-Reizei 後冷泉天皇 (1023-1068), who was the son of Emperor Go-Suzaku (1009-1045) and Fujiwara no Kishi 藤原嬉子 (1007-1025), who, in turn, was the daughter of Michinaga and thus Yorimichi’s sister. The empress consort in 1047 was Shōshi 章子 (1027-1105), who was the daughter of Go-Ichijō and thus the granddaughter of Michinaga.

⁵⁶ According to a Noh play, it is also the place where the Kasuga deity appeared to Fujiwara no Toshiie (1019-1082). *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, <https://kotobank.jp/word/藤原俊家-1106274> Accessed: 2019/04/01.

⁵⁷ *Chōyagunsai*, 50-51: 興福寺灵廬所建立也。其後次々皇后丞相加作堂塔。有其數。歸依年久。灵驗日新。帝王皇后補佐大臣。出自一門者。

Yorimichi was both the uncle of Go-Reizei and the great-uncle of Shōshi. Furthermore, Yorimichi's daughter Hiroko 寛子 (1036-1127) later became Go-Reizei's consort, thus further cementing the ties he was establishing with the imperial family.⁵⁸

The document describes an incident from the twelfth month of the previous year, when a fire had destroyed many of the buildings at Kōfukuji. The author asks whether the calamity was due to a lack of ability or a lack of the performance of rituals. "It has been known for a long time that matters for the clan are performed [there]. Is it because the imperial family has been offering their assistance that it has come this far?"⁵⁹ This document constitutes a report on the Kasuga shrine and addresses the deity and mausoleum of Sahoyama, which implies that the fire was a physical expression of the *kami's* displeasure at the state of things at the shrine-temple multiplexes (*jingūji* 神宮寺). In terms of worship, a strict line is drawn between the Fujiwara clan and the imperial family, which indicates a separation of the meta-physical discourses despite their close familial relations. This is further corroborated by the following lines: "Especially in recent years, droughts and calamities have occurred frequently. The expenses of the populace have been harmful, which is why they have caused trouble for the virtuous traces of our ancestors, who cannot remain quiet because of this."⁶⁰ The passage implies that the Kasuga deity and the clan's ancestors caused the fire at the temple because of the interference of the imperial family, which can be understood as an expression of *tatari*.

These statements are somewhat surprising, when one considers the fact that regular imperial pilgrimages to the Kasuga-Kōfukuji multiplex from 989

⁵⁸ For an overview of the complex ties between the Fujiwara and the imperial line for this particular period, see Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, 77.

⁵⁹ *Chōyagunsai*, 50-51: 不知所裁。若是才無行無。久知行氏事。為王室補佐奉所致歟。

⁶⁰ *Chōyagunsai*, 50-51: 就中年來之間。旱災頻起。人民費弊。累祖賢跡不可默止依。

onwards, significantly contributed to its status and economic basis. Furthermore, the multiplex provided state ceremonies such as the annual ritual at Kasuga and the yearly recitation of the *Lotus Sutra* at the shrine under the guidance of Kōfukuji monks from the first half of the tenth century onwards, which were fully sponsored by the state.⁶¹ However, these two ritual institutions were also embodiments of the power of the Fujiwara, since they believed that their success was directly related to their *ujigami* 氏神 and ancestors. For this reason, whenever they received land from the court in recognition of their services, part of that land would be given to the multiplex as a token of their gratitude to the deities.⁶²

We could thus read this passage as an attempt to retain a certain degree of independence from the imperial court of which the Kasuga-Kōfukuji multiplex was a symbol. This power was not only demonstrated by the significant amount of wealth and landholdings that was accumulated by this institution, but also symbolically by initiating the periodic reconstruction of the shrines based on the model of Ise and requesting the participation of a virgin priestess by imperial order.⁶³ The Fujiwara thus approached certain modes of expression based upon which the imperial meta-physical discourse was framed in order to enhance their own position, while attempting to maintain a clear distinction between the two. This echoes the perspective of the emperors when communicating with the meta-physical realm, since they had to separate themselves clearly from other forms of worship, as we shall see. The passage is also symbolic of the Fujiwara view of treating the *jingi* cult and the Buddhist cosmos as parts of a common system that were able to enrich each other.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, 52-53.

⁶² Grapard, Allan. *The Protocol of the Gods: A Study of the Kasuga Cult in Japanese History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992, 128.

⁶³ Ibid.: 128.

⁶⁴ A very early example of a Fujiwara *gammon* from 813 further attests to the clan's, and probably the general court nobility's, view of the relationship between the *kami* and the Buddhist deities.

The *insei* period is characterised by the decline of the Fujiwara, who encountered increasing degrees of opposition, and the rise of the retired emperors. Nevertheless, it is during this period, especially the twelfth century, that the meta-physical entities addressed by the Fujiwara became much more variegated and reflected the rising prominence of Buddho-Daoist entities. Problems had already begun to emerge while Yorimichi was regent, as his two daughters who were married to emperors, failed to give birth to any princes. Yorimichi only maintained his power through his sisters, which is apparent from the previous example dating to 1047. Since the Fujiwara family had not been able to provide an heir to the throne, it was suggested that Go-Reizei's younger brother Takahito 尊仁 should be named crown prince. Yorimichi managed to prevent his enthronement for over twenty years, but ultimately failed when Takahito ascended the throne in 1068 as Emperor Go-Sanjō 後三条天皇 (1032-1073) and produced the first gap in the line of sovereigns with Fujiwara mothers.⁶⁵ While Yorimichi's son, Morozane 師実 (1042-1101) still managed to retain power as a regent, his successor, Moromichi 師通 (1062-1099), died at an early age, leaving the post of Fujiwara regent in the hands of his inexperienced son Tadazane 忠実 (1078-1162). By this time, Shirakawa had managed to assert his position and exploited the situation by making Tadazane one of his own retainers and granting him the position of regent in 1105. This was a tactical move that restricted the power of the regent since Shirakawa himself had now

Fujiwara no Kadonomaro 藤原葛野麻呂 (755-818) proposed a combination of the two within the Buddhist framework. He argued that the *kami* needed to be actively pursued based on the means of Buddhism, since one cannot rely on the secret help of the gods but should rather comply with the ways of the imperial family. Accordingly, he states that "prayers should be presented to the one hundred and eighty-seven places of the heavenly and earthly deities and that a scroll of the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* should be also be offered to each one of them." *Heian Ibun*, vol. 8, 3278-3279: 自思不因冥護、寧得遂皇華之節乎、即祈願、奉為一百八十七所之天神神祇等、奉寫金剛般若經每神一卷。

⁶⁵ Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, 77-78.

secured his right either to approve or reject Tadazane's political suggestions. The clan's presence among the leading positions of the court nobility also declined, while the Minamoto numbers grew.⁶⁶

The examples drawn from this period are also mostly composed in relation to the larger Buddhist framework, which demonstrates again that the predominant modes of interpretation among the courtiers were aligned with the Buddhist worldview. Much like the document written for Michinaga, many of these reports to the deities include a summary of the achievements of the courtier who either wrote the text himself or commissioned one. For example, an address to Taizan fukun by Fujiwara no Akitaka 藤原顕隆 (1072-1129) in 1114 asks the deities of the underworld, as well as the heavenly and earthly *kami* for protection, longevity and good fortune.⁶⁷ They seem to express the courtier's gratitude toward the deities and implicitly convey the sense that success in worldly affairs is based upon their support. Another recurrent theme is the construction of new buildings and dangers such projects necessarily entailed. Such endeavours could disturb certain deities residing in the earth or passing through in a specific direction, but mistakes made in terms of government were equally feared. Some of these examples thus contain elements regarding the way in which the relationship between humans and deities was perceived. These notions can benefit our understanding of the courtiers' view of the *kami* in contrast to the image projected by the discourse surrounding the emperors.

Fujiwara no Nobunaga 藤原信長 (1022-1094) laments the state of current affairs in a document addressed to Taishakuten,⁶⁸ a guardian deity of the centre, in 1085. He expresses the view that the disorganised state of the government offices and the failure of the court officials in performing their tasks, invited

⁶⁶ Ibid.: 80-81.

⁶⁷ See *Chōyagunsai*, 60.

⁶⁸ <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=帝釋天> Accessed: 2019/04/01.

misfortune upon the country. As proof, he refers to the appearance of numerous *mokke* in recent times and the unsettled divinatory reports that constantly threaten *tatari* caused by Dokujin, the earthly deities, vengeful spirits and the demon of pestilence, Ekiki.⁶⁹ It is important to note the difference between the types of deities seen to be causing *tatari* here and those *kami* of a higher rank that were addressed by the emperors. He also describes the fear that accompanies the construction of a Buddhist hall, as mistakes can occur quite easily, which would, in turn, spark fear of the appearance of demons and cause *tatari* by the *kami* of the Five Phases, namely earth, wood, and water.⁷⁰ Nobunaga hoped that his address would invite Taishakuten to protect the court from these threats. The whole passage seems to express the Chinese ideal of good government, in which each part had to do their best to contribute to the whole and embody the ideal of virtue. It asserts the notion that the occurrence of calamities and misfortune is never arbitrary but always a meta-physical response to inadequate human behaviour.

High-ranking court officials were able to talk about problems in the state by conflating Confucian ideals with beliefs in the native *kami* and subsuming both within the overarching Buddhist worldview. These documents express the notion that the *kami* reacted to disordered affairs and negligent behaviour by causing calamities. Such situations could only be rectified when Buddhist deities were invoked, and Buddhist teachings were disseminated, as they had the power to ward off evil and transform negative influences into positive ones. Their transformative and restorative nature is exemplified by the fact that most addresses to the deities invoke the Buddha and glorify the splendour and efficacy

⁶⁹ *Chōyagunsai*, 49: ... 物怪荐呈。就内就外。筮相不静。… 卜筮所告。畏懼非一。土公地神。怨靈疫鬼。種々之祟。I should note that the document is addressed to the deity by Nobunaga, but the author given in the source is Fujiwara no Narisue (1102-1165), which would mean that it was written later than 1085, after Nobunaga's death.

⁷⁰ *Chōyagunsai*, 49: ... 凡厥人謗鬼瞰之懼。土木水神之祟。

of the teachings. The *kami*, as unenlightened beings that still needed to be transformed, had to be integrated into that cosmology, and thus mostly appear towards the end of the list of deities addressed.

When Fujiwara no Tadazane, who had become a useful asset to Shirakawa's political endeavours, addressed the earthly deities in 1117, he began his dedications with Dainichi and the Buddhas of the Three Realms, followed by various other Buddhist entities until he finally reached the *kami* associated with the imperial court at the end.⁷¹ This *saimon* similarly relates to the errors made during the construction of new buildings, and how sincere worship and faith in the Buddhist Way can disperse evil influences. While the doctrinal aspects of this document will be of interest at a later point, the worldview as it emerges from these communication processes favours a specific view of the *jingi*. They were regarded as being seamlessly incorporated into the Buddhist cosmos.⁷² Most notably, almost all of these examples relate to construction projects, which were known to disturb localised *kami* associated with specific places, and thus perhaps

⁷¹ *Chōyagunsai*, 55: 摩訶毘盧遮那如來。三世十方。一切諸仏。一切頂輪王菩薩。地前地上。諸大薩埵。… 五帝龍王。十二月將諸天曜宿。冥官冥類。日遊月飾。將軍大歳。黄幡。豹尾。王土地神。青龍白虎。朱雀玄武。六甲禁_口諸神。王城鎮守。諸大明神。行疫流行。一切鬼神等言。 These lists are of great importance for our understanding of the structure of the invisible realm. While Satō understands these lists to constitute a map of the invisible realm in vertical order and is surprised that the deities of the underworld are mentioned before the heavenly *kami* ("Wrathful Deities and Saving Deities", 106-107), Teeuwen argues that the deities were not organised in order of prominence or physical location, but that this structure rather follows the principles of a highly coordinated divine realm. This is based on his study of a ritual manual called the *Tenshin Daijin giki* 天照大神儀軌, which, in its first version, appeared around the late *insei* and early Kamakura periods. Teeuwen concludes that through Ise's symbolic associations with the Big Dipper and the Pole Star, which, in turn, were related to Enma and Taizan Fukun who were the arbiters of human fate, the Heavenly Realm and the Realm of the Dead are ultimately the same. Although this particular document is not directly related to the material under consideration here, it helps to understand more about the reasoning behind these lists of deities. See "The Creation of a *Honji Suijaku* Deity", 136-142. It is perhaps significant that the *kami* are named last, which could point to a certain circularity regarding the fact that ultimately, they are all emanations of a particular entity and its associations, which Teeuwen has demonstrated for Amaterasu (142), although more work would have to be done in this area in order to ascertain whether this was a general theme.

⁷² Further documents that are addressed to Buddhist entities in the context of construction are, for example, a *ganmon* by Fujiwara no Kiyohira 藤原清衡 (1056-1128) written in 1126 (*Heian ibun*, vol. 5, 1780) and a *ganmon* by Fujiwara no Sadanobu 藤原定信 (1088-1155) written in 1149 (*Hyōhanki*, vol. 1, 38-40).

represent the effort to integrate the plethora of beliefs that were becoming more variegated throughout the twelfth century. In conclusion, the contexts differ significantly from the conditions that concerned the *sekkanke* regents when they still held a certain degree of power, which reflects different interests and ambitions. It seems reasonable to conclude that by the twelfth century, the Fujiwara who were composing such addresses to the gods were not solely acting in their own interest but also on behalf of the retired emperors and their schemes.

It is among the relations of the Fujiwara with the imperial family that the tension between the retention of positions and position-takings within the field becomes most prominent. The example relating to the Kasuga-Kōfukuji multiplex displays a clear attempt on behalf of the Fujiwara to defend their position by drawing upon the meta-physical discourse that was favoured prior to the *insei* period. Similarly, the documents depict the Fujiwara leaders as taking on the role of guardians of the spirits of the deceased by building designated ritual institutions and invoking the Buddha's benevolence, which indicates their active role in taking positions for themselves. They thus made use of the meta-physical discourse to support their position at court on another level, which articulated their authority in a different set of terms than those of their political actions. The communications with the deities undertaken during the *insei* period reflect a more passive stance and the general aim to defend their positions.⁷³ Due to the fact that these documents also deal with a variety of concerns that affected a larger group of people, we may infer that they were considered to be authoritative in the relevant contexts. They should thus be situated closer to the dominant pole within the field, as they could effect change and challenged other positions.

⁷³ This can be exemplified by the two examples mentioned in the previous footnote, which both involve the construction of Buddhist institutions that were supposed to serve the spirits of the deceased.

1.4.3 The emperors

The way in which the emperors and retired emperors addressed the deities presents us with a discourse that is completely different in orientation. It was only when members of the imperial family assumed the title of emperor that their status changed, and they started to draw upon a different meta-physical discourse.⁷⁴ This claim can be ascertained by the fact that imperial princes expressed themselves in the same way as the other high-ranking court officials when addressing the deities. The *ganmon* written by Minamoto no Kaneakira (914-987), the son of Daigo Tennō, reflect many of the notions we have encountered already, but also include topics that can only be ascribed to his direct contact with the emperors. He appears to have been very devoted to the *Lotus Sutra*, as he composed three *ganmon* either for services and lectures on the Sutra or transcriptions of it. In 955, for instance, he praises Murakami Tennō's penmanship as the "brush of the living deity" (*ikigami no fude* 生神筆),⁷⁵ when the emperor transcribed the text for a set of lectures to be held on the sutra. In such documents, he also highlights the compassion of Buddhist entities. If the Buddhist law is propounded and disseminated, then suffering and illnesses can be eliminated, and evil forces removed.⁷⁶

However, there is also one example in which he does not invoke any Buddhist deities, but focusses on the logic of human interactions with the *kami*, namely the address to the deity Kameyama, which we have encountered

⁷⁴ I would like to emphasise again that this does not deny the fact that the emperors participated in the Buddhist discourse and ritual. This section should only underline the bond they had with the high-ranking *kami* specifically that could symbolically enhance their authority. Their recourse to this very specific discourse was used as a meta-physical counterpoint to the rest of their socio-political strategies, which become more prominent from the *insei* period onwards as imperial power was revitalised.

⁷⁵ See *Honcho monzui*, vol. 13., no. 371. Other *gammon* related to the Lotus Sutra can be found in *Chōyagunsai*, 30 and *Honchō monzui*, vol. 13, no. 372.

⁷⁶ In one of his *ganmon*, of which the date is unknown, he describes his own faith in Kannon's benevolence and the benefits of hearing the Lotus Sutra, see *Honchō monzui*, vol. 13, no. 373: 吾重觀因緣，聞法華之勝理，覺觀音之慈悲。是釋尊之遺教也。

previously.⁷⁷ What is significant about this shrine and ultimately connects Kaneakira to the meta-physical discourse of the emperors is the fact that the shrine considers itself to be dedicated to Hachiman. Furthermore, from the ninth century onwards, its main objects of worship have been the legendary emperors Chūai 仲哀 (fourteenth emperor of Japan), Ōjin 応神 (fifteenth) and Nintoku 仁徳 (sixteenth), as well as Empress Jingū 神功 (purportedly reigned 201-269), which are often linked to the deity Hachiman.⁷⁸ Hachiman, the first indigenous deity to become a bodhisattva, came to be seen as an imperial ancestor during the Nara period and perceived as an arbiter of legitimacy in state affairs until he was eventually enshrined at Iwashimizu. This shrine rapidly rose in status until it was second only to Ise and established affiliations with shrines dedicated to Ōjin and other legendary rulers.⁷⁹ As we shall see, this deity was appealed to frequently by the emperors and retired emperors throughout the Heian period. The tradition of looking back to the ancestors for guidance is also visible in the tombs of previous emperors and empresses that became the object of imperial attention in terms of crisis.⁸⁰ However, during the twelfth century, other cults associated with the Pole Star began to gain more prominence. This puts Kaneakira in an interesting position with regard to the meta-physical discourse, since he was not a crown prince, but briefly held the position of Minister of the Left from 971 until 977. These are also the only examples of an address to the deities written by a member of the imperial family other than the emperor himself that I have been able to find in the sources under consideration here. We must assume that he was

⁷⁷ This was the document that expanded on the notion that the *kami* have no value of themselves, but that their value is based on the worship they receive from the people, which illustrates the co-dependent relationship between humans and deities.

⁷⁸ <http://www.kameyamagu.com/yuisho.htm> Accessed: 2019/04/02.

⁷⁹ Bender, *The Political Meaning of the Hachiman Cult*, PhD Diss., 50-70.

⁸⁰ See, for example, *Gunsho ruijū*, scroll 99, 291.

aware of the separate discourses and understood its logic while having to maintain his distance.

The emperors addressed the deities in the form of imperial decrees that often began with the following set phrase: “天皇我詔旨度掛, (name of the deity) 廣前, 恐恐申賜申” which could be translated as “the emperor reverently presents this decree to (name of the deity).” They are mostly addressed to the highest-ranking deities whose shrines were ranked among the upper seven institutions of the twenty-two shrine system, namely Ise, Iwashimizu, Kamo, and Hirano.⁸¹ The only exceptions are an address to the deity of Tatsuta shrine in 850 and address to Taizan Fukun by emperor Go-Reizei in 1050.⁸² What is notable here is that his name before he ascended the throne was used, namely Chikahito 親仁, rather than his title as emperor. Similarly, the themes encountered in these documents often express a higher degree of urgency as they refer to potentially calamitous circumstances for the country. They drew upon notions of *tatari* in relation to misfortune and natural phenomena as an indication that harmony needed to be restored. Such situations could include the appearance of strange phenomena, i.e. *mokke*, calamities, or prayers for either more or less rain, or a good harvest.⁸³ No Buddhist elements appear in any of these documents and the discourse of the highest-ranking *kami* in association with the emperors seems to be completely isolated, which will be examined in more detail in the following sections.

While the Fujiwara attempts at communicating with the deities evoked notions of *tatari* and *mokke* at times, they were presented as logical conclusions

⁸¹ Many of these do not provide us with an exact date, but they relate to festivals performed at Hirano, Kamo and Ise, see *Chōyagunsai*, 300-303. Further examples relate to the selection of imperial virgin priestesses (齋王 *saiō*) for Kamo (*Chōyagunsai*, 309) and Ise in 936 (*Chōyagunsai*, 308-309).

⁸² 850, address to the deity of Tatsuta shrine (*Gunsho ruijū*, scroll 81, 265) and 1050, address to Taizan Fukun (*Chōyagunsai*, 59).

⁸³ See, for instance, decrees addressed to Iwashimizu because of calamities and strange events in 961/03/07 (*Iwashi dachū*, vol. 2, 61-62), 1004/08/16 because of drought and strange omens (*Iwashi dachū*, vol. 2, 69), or 1019/02/29 for a good harvest (*Chōyagunsai*, 312).

to improper human behaviour as a theoretical model and thus expressed specific modes of thought and potentiality. The emperors, however, reacted to situations that had been identified as having been caused by *mokke* and *tatari* in terms of fact and thus were regarded as the documents containing the most authoritative information. We have already seen in previous chapters that the rectification of such critical conditions fell into the emperor's domain of influence by relying on the interpretations provided by the ritual specialists of the Jingikan and the Onmyōryō. This claim can now be further supported by the evidence obtained from the written decrees to the *kami*. Rather than the localised gains that the other two groups were attempting to achieve through their communications with the deities, those of the emperors were direct responses to calamities that beset the whole country and had the widest range of impact. These decrees emphasise clearly the emperor's, and, by extension, the court's acknowledgement of the fact that certain disasters, such as fires, droughts and floods were caused by human error and thus admit their own culpability to the deity. They can be read as reports that list the countermeasures that had already been undertaken, the results of divinatory reports and the causes for such unfortunate events, but they also provide the reader with a deeper understanding of the modes of thought that were employed by the various groups depending on their position within the system.

When strange omens appeared in the heavens and animals acted in a strange way near the Usa and Iwashimizu shrines in 1003, both of which are associated with Hachiman, Ichijō Tennō quickly acknowledged the threat presented by an angered *kami*. The mysterious appearance of a fox at Usa Shrine in the seventh month and the gathering of a flock of birds that attacked the chickens at Iwashimizu Shrine in the tenth month is enough to prompt a divination by both the Jingikan and the Onmyōryō, which confirmed the emperor's

suspicions. He thus invoked the help of the great *kami* addressed in this text (称⁸⁴花大神) in order to sweep away *mono*.⁸⁵ The emperor was able to appeal to such high-ranking *kami* for the benefit of the populace. Similarly, in 1004, the heading of the decree directly states that the deity of Usa was accusing the people (宇佐神人訴訟) and the document represents a response to the deity who had initiated the “conversation” through the occurrence of calamities. The emperor’s report continues by describing the nature of the misfortunes, namely prolonged periods of heavy rain, followed by a period of drought, which caused all of the cultivated fields to dry up completely. Having been identified as *tatari*, the reports by both divinatory departments are quoted, which revealed that the calamities were being caused by *kami* in almost all directions. The logic applied to the circumstances in this document blamed the mistakes made in government as well as the lack of faith in the deities, which presented factors that were thought to cause *kegare*.⁸⁶

These examples resemble reports given to the deities in order to inform them of the current state of the situation and the measures that were being undertaken in addition to asking for the deity’s protection. The most common theme of the various examples that have been consulted are calamities and strange events, which relate directly to the modes of thought surrounding *tatari* and *mokke*. When we uncovered the use of such meta-physical entities as a ritual strategy to draw attention to certain institutions and enhance the position of the

⁸⁴ This character could not be identified clearly and hence represents merely a tentative suggestion.

⁸⁵ *Iwashi dachū*, vol. 2, 68: 月来之間、天変[] [] 咎徴兆、叡情不静、怖懼大坐、宇佐大神宮去七月十日有狐恠、又十月十日石清水宮群鳥飛集喫[] 鷄、因茲神祇官陰陽寮等勘申、疫癘可発、兵革可動如此由、聞食驚大坐、件等災難、可掃却大神厚顧廣助依、可消除物所…

⁸⁶ *Iwashi dachū*, vol. 2, 69-70: 大神成崇、此由聞食、驚恐給至深、今所恐給去年官人等有愁申事依、官符太宰府下給、由令糺給了、而令後愁申驚給、推問使差使、其兆令糺給有此災、如此之事依御在所穢化有恐歸給、…

ones affected,⁸⁷ it became clear that the emperors did not participate in the discourse of illness and *tatari* as frequently as Michinaga, for instance, during the height of the *sekkanke* rule.

Yet, the previous chapters have also referred to the prominence of the emperors in all matters to do with calamities, *tatari* and *mokke* in relation to nature, which is also corroborated by the examples cited here. The use of these modes of thought contributed to the exalted position of the emperor, who was placed at the centre of this web of complex symbolic associations based on a variety of notions of kingship and images of centrality, which will be discussed shortly. He could rectify calamitous circumstances due to his status as a living deity. This gave him access to a meta-physical discourse that was closed to others and the means to appeal to the highest-ranking deities for protection against disasters that affected the state. While the Fujiwara seemingly drew upon the meta-physical discourse that exploited illnesses associated with *tatari* as a ritual strategy during the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, the discourse of the emperors was more focussed on calamities and events in nature. The examples discussed in previous sections also display the Fujiwaras' concern with worldly benefits through institutional ties and with pacifying the souls of deceased family members or of their enemies. It circumscribes the more limited range of explanatory powers that were granted to them based on the meta-physical discourse at their disposal.

The one example I have discovered that relates to a different type of deity, namely Taizan Fukun and the various deities of the underworld, was written by the Emperor Go-Reizei in 1050. However, the author of this address used the name he was given before he ascended the throne (天子親仁). This indirect way of referring to the author may have something to do with the fact that the

⁸⁷ Due to the fact that they had been targeted by the meta-physical realm, they were credited with the ability to change the situation.

emperor is addressing a deity that is not one of the high-ranking *kami* and belongs to a different belief system. By addressing the deity effectively from his earlier position as imperial prince, he avoids having to communicate with them in his role as the emperor and can assume a different persona.⁸⁸ The first lines of the text also clearly establish the position of the country of Japan in the Buddhist cosmos by referring to it as Jambudvīpa, the realm of human existence in the form of one of the continents surrounding Mt. Sumeru.⁸⁹ However, the document deals with the same themes as the earlier imperial decrees and asks the deities for their assistance and protection. Due to the occurrence of strange events in the heavens and on earth, the appearance of *mokke*, the frequency of dreams, and the fact that prognostications based on the heavens and *yin* and *yang* had become difficult to understand, this document was presented to the various deities together with two hundred and forty coins and valuable documents, one hundred and twenty-four white silk worms, twelve saddled horses, and thirty-six brave servants.⁹⁰ The end of the document contains the customary commendations for the protection of the imperial throne and prayers for good fortune and longevity. This example seems to further support the claim that the emperor had to adhere to a very specific meta-physical discourse upon which his authority was based.

Throughout the *insei* period, the incentives for appealing to the deities remain the same and the documents focus on similar themes. However, there is a perceptible shift from Shirakawa's time as a retired emperor onwards, which provides further evidence for his utilisation of the meta-physical discourse as a means to revitalise the position of the emperors in addition to his socio-political

⁸⁸ *Chōyagunsai*, 59: 親仁謹啓泰山府君。冥道諸神等。

⁸⁹ [http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?95.xml+id\(%27b95bb-6d6e-63d0%27\)](http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?95.xml+id(%27b95bb-6d6e-63d0%27))
 Accessed: 2019/04/04. *Chōyagunsai*, 59: 南閭浮州大日本国天子親仁御筆年廿六。

⁹⁰ *Chōyagunsai*, 59: 献上 冥道諸神一十二座、銀錢二百四十貫文、白絹一百二十四匹、鞍馬十二匹、勇奴三十六匹…而頃日蒼天為變。異地致妖。物怪數數。夢想紛紛。司天陰陽勘奏不輕。其徵尤重。若非蒙冥道之恩助。何攘人間之区厄或。

strategies. Just like Michinaga before him, he emerges as a key figure within the space of position-takings, not only in relation to the communication processes under consideration in this chapter, but also with regard to the appropriation of forms of power that were sanctioned by the meta-physical realm. While decrees presented to the deities by the emperors follow the same patterns as those in previous years, retired emperor Shirakawa began to compose *saimon* that were addressed to the stars of the Northern Dipper and to Hokushin in 1101 and 1113, respectively.⁹¹ We also find a similar report to Hokushin written by Fujiwara no Masaie 藤原正家 (1026-1111) in 1103 on behalf of the emperor, which demonstrates that the imperial rulers were turning to other symbolic notions that could underline the sovereignty and centrality of the emperor.⁹² Yet, those documents were still not composed by the emperor directly. This indicates the restrictions placed on the meta-physical discourse that the emperor could draw upon.

Most of these addresses to the deities were written in response to strange events and calamities, which means that the processes of communication had already been initiated by the *kami*. They represent an attempt to explain the procedures undertaken to rectify the situation to the deities as a means to prove the extent of human effort expended. These served perhaps to propitiate the *kami* by assuring them of the imminent restoration of balanced relations. Both Shirakawa and Horikawa during their regencies blamed their own lack of virtue to have caused the occurrence of strange signs and calamities.⁹³ Horikawa addressed Hachiman *bosatsu* at Iwashimizu Shrine in 1099 and declared that the

⁹¹ 1101/01/21: *Chōyagunsai*, 51. 1113/02/07: *Chōyagunsai*, 52-54. Hayami notes that the ritual texts for the worship of the stars became the prerogative of the imperial family, especially from the twelfth century onwards. As mentioned previously, the stars of the Northern Dipper came to be associated with Taizan Fukun and the bureaucracy of the underworld as the place where the archives of destiny were kept. See Hayami, *Heian kizoku shakai to bukyō*, 246-256.

⁹² 1103/05/01-04: *Chōyagunsai*, 49.

⁹³ See 1077/04/14 for Shirakawa's imperial decree concerning a fire at Kashī Jingū, which he interprets as a sign, *Iwashi Tanaka*, vol. 1, 26.

appearance of strange movements in the heavens and inauspicious signs were due to a *tatari* that had been caused by his lack of virtue.⁹⁴

Based on Matsumoto Takuya, Abé notes that in contrast to the Chinese model of imperial virtue and moral failure, the Japanese emperor often accepted the responsibility for calamities voluntarily in order to “absorb the sins of his subjects”.⁹⁵ In this way, the emperor became a representative for the populace yet again by accepting the blame in front of the deities, just like the *tatari* targeted him as a warning when the state found itself in a precarious position. The metaphysical realm was credited with a form of agency that either condoned or condemned human behaviour, which was actively regulated by the ritual specialists and those in the highest positions of power who could consciously manipulate the episteme and determined which information was deemed to be authoritative.

Toba Tennō 鳥羽天皇 (1103-1156, r. 1107-1132) elaborated on the view of the *kami* in an imperial decree concerning matters at Iwasimizu Shrine in 1113. The passage echoes Minamoto no Kaneakira’s address to Kameyama, in which he discusses the co-dependent relationship between humans and the deities but takes it even further to stress the importance of imperial authority in relation to the *kami*. The document was written in the context of armed conflicts taking place between the major ritual institutions Kōfukuji and Enryakuji due to the manoeuvrings of Shirakawa, who was attempting to obtain the right to strategically assign administrators to certain temples based on his own preferences. Shirakawa’s plans had already caused a dispute between

⁹⁴ 1099/03/15: 近来天変頻示、地間発、如之宿露之氣頗聞民同、如此咎崇勝之不徳。(*Iwashitsuki* 7, vol. 5, 444). More specifically, the passage translates as: “Recently, strange signs have appeared frequently in the heavens and there have been inauspicious events on the earth.” See Morohashi on the various meanings of 天, of which “ominous” or “inauspicious” seem the most fitting, *Dai kanwa jiten*, vol. 3, 551.

⁹⁵ Matsumoto Takuya. “Ritsuryō kokka ni okeru sai shisō: sono seiji hihan no yōsu to bunseki”. *Kodai ōken to saigi*, edited by Mayuzumi Hiromaichi, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1990, 160-161. Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 320.

Iwashimizu and Enryakuji in 1105, which contributed to the hostile relations that are evident from this written report.⁹⁶ Toba's decree also seems to lament the fact that the attendants in service at Iwashimizu had not been paying their taxes properly and seemed to be more interested in accumulating their own wealth than serving the deity of the shrine.⁹⁷ He blames the disordered times for the neglect of the imperial law (*ōbō* 王法), which "causes the destruction of regulations and ceremonies. In terms of a metaphor, it is like the insect in the lion's body – it eats the lion from within."⁹⁸ Due to the significance of the statements made in the section following this metaphor, it is worth quoting the text at length:

"We want the departments' judgements to rely on the law, but it is difficult to assess the divine will. This turns into fear to the point where the interpretation of the teachings is interrupted, which will decline [as a result]. The *kami* will delay their protection of the imperial lineage. It is because the teaching of pacification and protection has been practised that they are [regarded as] traces in the original vow. Above all, the *kami* of our own imperial lineage protect the foundations of the country. The Buddhist monks and nuns retain the footprints on the ground. The *kami* have authority because the imperial authority grants them authority. The radiance of the *kami* draws out the rulers' brilliance and enhances it. The *kami*, of themselves, have no value. Their value depends on the people. The teachings, of themselves, cannot be spread. Their dissemination depends on the people."⁹⁹

⁹⁶ For more information, see Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, 112-119.

⁹⁷ 1113/04/15: 誤以庸昧濫受皇圖、日愼之裏年序漸移、爰頃年以來、神人濫惡為先、緇侶貪婪為本、或公私田地押領、或上下財物掠取 (*Heian ibun*, vol. 4, 1617, no. 1793).

⁹⁸ *Heian ibun*, vol. 4, 1617, no. 1793: 遂忘王法已破律儀、譬師子身中虫、自如食師子。

⁹⁹ *Heian ibun*, vol. 4, 1617, no. 1793: 任法欲科斷神慮難測、成憚點止釋教將滅、夫神明保護朝廷、鎮守教行為垂跡之本誓、就中我朝神道祐基國、釋家留趾地、神威依皇威施威、神明引皇明增明、神自不貴、依人貴之、教自不弘、依人弘。

This passage contains obvious Buddhist connotations, which may be ascribed to the fact that the document itself was written by Eijitsu 永実 (dates unknown) of the Minamoto clan on behalf of Emperor Toba. It presents an obvious attempt to reconcile the imperial law (*ōbō*), to which the *kami* were seen to belong, with the Buddhist law (*buppō*) as a means to protect the court and the country. In that sense, the emperor and the *kami* were again situated within the broader framework of Buddhist cosmology. However, the parallels to the much older document composed by Kaneakira reveal that this mode of thought had been a prevalent feature of the conception of imperial authority and the relations with the invisible realm throughout the Heian period. This version differs from the earlier version only in terms of the last parallel drawn between the dissemination of the Buddhist teachings and the value of the *kami*, which are both dependent on the efforts of the populace. In this respect, Buddhism was retrospectively integrated into an earlier paradigm that centred on the *kami*.

In fact, it seems as if this passage is attempting to highlight the importance of the *kami* despite the overall predominance of Buddhism. Beginning with the assertion that the wrath of the *kami* disrupts the law, further evidence can be found in the emphasis placed on their function as the guardians of the country. This portrayal of the *kami* suggests the incorporation of Buddhism into this central discourse and an attempt to justify the enduring value of the *kami* associated with the imperial lineage. Furthermore, the depiction of the *kami* as traces of the Buddhist deities is used to enhance the claim that this association can only be maintained due to the practices relating to the *kami* themselves. While the *kami* are portrayed as omnipresent regulators of the heavens, a clear contrast is created by referring to the dissemination of Buddhism in the earthly realm. This is further reflected in the section describing the authority and the value of the *kami*, in which the Buddhist teachings are only referred to once and appear last.

Overall, the structure of this passage serves to subsume Buddhism into the belief system surrounding the *kami* as the central, most important discourse.

The fact that a specific author is mentioned at the end in order to clarify that it was not composed by the emperor himself is perhaps significant with regard to the Buddhist content that is expressed in this passage. Nevertheless, this example demonstrates that the emperor as the apex of the court hierarchy formed an inseparable unit with the *kami* without whom he could not hope to rule successfully. Conversely, the *kami* depended just as much on the attention given to them by the imperial court. One cannot exist without the other, which, as a pre-eminent mode of thought, was being extended to include the Buddhist law in this specific decree. Thus, the composition of these reports to the deities either by the rulers themselves or on their behalf were ultimately concerned with questions of imperial authority.

This concern with authority and kingship can be further substantiated by the sudden appearance of documents addressed to the Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper and Hokushin from 1101 onwards, which conspicuously coincide with Shirakawa's control of the position of retired emperor. The contexts of these appeals to deities associated with astral notions of kingship are very similar to those addressed to the *kami*, although they lack the same evocation of *tatari*. In Shirakawa's *saimon* for the Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper, he first of all situates Japan as a country of Dainichi within the Buddhist cosmos as being located in the southern part of Jambudvīpa. All of the Buddhist deities are addressed hierarchically before he moves on to various astral entities, the deities of the underworld, the protection of the state (*chingo kokka*), and, finally, the *kami*.¹⁰⁰ Following the same format as other documents for the deities, the middle

¹⁰⁰ *Chōyagunsai*, 51-52: 南瞻部州大日本国太上法皇敬白。十方三世。一切諸仏。八万法藏。十二部經。地前地上。諸大菩薩。聲聞緣覺。一切賢聖衆。別白本尊界会。北斗七星。七曜九執。廿八宿。王者眷屬。四大天王。司命都尉。天曹都尉。冥官冥道。鎮護国家。諸大明神。

section states the reason for seeking communication, while the last part dwells on the benefits that may be granted by the deity based on its benevolent aspects. The reason for this particular address is the frequent occurrence of disasters and the fear of the people. This is blamed on the fact that it has become difficult to enter the Buddhist Way and to maintain the precepts, as the teachings have become obscure. For that reason, it is necessary to look for the truth and devote oneself sincerely to the ritual services.¹⁰¹

Shirakawa draws an interesting parallel between heaven and earth, by differentiating the realm of the heavenly *kami* from that of the humans. Based on the numerical value of the stars of the Northern Dipper, he equates them with the Seven Luminaries, which refer to the sun and moon in addition to the five visible planets. Their distribution in the heavens illuminate all directions and sparkle in the realm of the heavenly *kami*. “Below, humans extend their influence. It is where good and evil are administered, and misfortune and good fortune are divided.”¹⁰² This division provides the basis for Shirakawa’s main point, namely that the Seven Stars represent the place where the essence of imperial rule lies, whereas the place of all spirits, based on this contrast, is seemingly to prostrate themselves and revere the former.¹⁰³ While addressing the astral deities in order to receive their protection, Shirakawa makes an important claim about the position of the emperor and imperial rule within the broader cosmos and does not fail to mention the role of the heavenly *kami* that were associated with imperial authority. It seems reasonable to conclude that Shirakawa was attempting to reassert and redefine the dimensions of imperial power in an age where meta-physical beliefs were not only becoming more variegated but also more intertwined under the auspices of Buddhism. This illustrates yet another meta-physical level that

¹⁰¹ 今年重厄可愼。運命多畏。雖遁俗累。難入佛道。觀念不明。戒律難全。…專抽精誠。恭敬供養。

¹⁰² 北斗七星者囊括七曜。照臨八方。上耀於天神。下亘于人間。以司善惡。以分禍福。

¹⁰³ 群星之所朝宗。万灵之所俯仰。

Shirakawa used to support the restoration of imperial power. It would thus appear that the appropriation of meta-physical discourses was just as important as socio-political strategies when it came to the assertion of power, which is not surprising when we consider Tenmu's extensive use of symbolism in styling himself as the first *tennō* with ancestral ties to Amaterasu.¹⁰⁴

In 1103, Fujiwara no Masaie addressed a *kōmon* to Sonshōō 尊星王, the Tendai equivalent of Hokushin,¹⁰⁵ on behalf of Emperor Horikawa. The request for protection is made again, based on the frequent occurrence of calamities and strange omens, which had spread extreme fear among the populace.¹⁰⁶ Rooted in the power of Buddhism, which is portrayed as being able to convert bad fortune into good fortune by eliminating calamities, secret rituals for Sonshōō were seen to be able to ward off danger and save all sentient beings. The deity is described as the central ruler of the multitudes of stars and the various immortals,¹⁰⁷ which confirms Hokushin's position at the centre of the universe as the embodiment of the Pole Star. The way in which the deity is represented mirrors the position of the emperor in the earthly realm and his duty as a ruler to govern over the masses.

Shirakawa's *saimon* to Hokushin in 1113 further accentuates this significant relationship between the ruler and the Pole Star and the symbolic power of such associations. Written in a similar format to his earlier *saimon*, this document is offered to Hokushin due to the warnings of divinatory reports and eclipses of the sun and moon. Furthermore, the rituals that are being prepared for the deity as well as the burning of incense focus on notions of purity, which helped to scatter the accumulation of negative *ki*.¹⁰⁸ The modes of thought contained

¹⁰⁴ See Ooms, *Imperial Politics and Symbolics*, chapter 3 "Alibis".

¹⁰⁵ The bodhisattva of the North Star, also known as Myōken. "Also called 尊星王, 妙見尊星王, 北辰妙見菩薩, and 北辰菩薩." See [http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?59.xml+id\(%27b5999-898b-83e9-85a9%27\)](http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?59.xml+id(%27b5999-898b-83e9-85a9%27)) Accessed: 2019/04/08.

¹⁰⁶ *Chōyagunsai*, 48: 頃者天變頻示。年厄可慎。就中去月雪降。今月地動。司天之奏。恐懼無極。

¹⁰⁷ 抑尊星王者。衆星中王。諸仙中主。

¹⁰⁸ *Chōyagunsai*, 52-54: 上清宜照鑑。仍飭壇場。謹設禮奠。奇香散氣。

within these documents support the claims made concerning *ki* in the second chapter, which sought to arrive at a new definition of *mononoke* as part of a mode of thought that linked the appearance of calamities and illnesses to an overabundance of negative *ki*. The annotations included at the end of the *saimon* are even more affirmative in establishing the relation between the *tennō* and the deity of the Pole Star, which secured the image of the emperor as the focal point of the universe. They confirm that the Pole Star is the star of the emperor, which is located in a specific constellation and thus makes him the centre of the universe.¹⁰⁹

These examples demonstrate clearly that besides the discourse of *tatari* that could be invoked directly by the emperor, other documents addressed to Buddhist and Buddho-Daoist deities that dealt with the same causes were also taken advantage of to revive and justify the continued importance of the imperial line. Compared to the means of communication available to the other courtiers of some standing, the emperor's modes of expression were very restricted, which mirrors the position of the emperor in the state. Within the field of positions and position-takings, a considerable amount of effort was invested into the retention of the ruler's unique methods of communicating with the other realm, and, from Shirakawa onwards, into the acquisition of new symbolic means to address deities that evoked images of centrality and revitalise imperial authority. These systematic position-takings expanded the emperor's reach in the meta-physical realm. Similarly, the information contained within these documents was considered to be the most authoritative since it not only dealt with threats to the whole state but was also backed by official reports from the departments.

¹⁰⁹ *Chōyagunsai*, 52-54: 注申院 … 天皇大帝一星也。在環鉤中。天皇為天心也。 On Myōken and the Pole Star see also Dolce, Lucia. "The worship of celestial bodies in Japan: politics, rituals and icons". *Culture and Cosmos: a journal of the history of astrology and cultural astronomy*, 10/1-2 (2006), 162-167.

We must thus conclude that despite the restrictions placed upon the means of communication themselves, this group was in possession of the most important types of capital and resources. This distinction between the documents composed by the emperors and those of the other courtiers is further mirrored in the doctrinal elements that these texts express. They allow us further insight into the various modes of thought and how certain symbolic associations were manipulated for socio-political gains. For this reason, the next part of this chapter will compare and contrast the expression of meta-physical notions in doctrinal and socio-political terms and examine the various notions of kingship that were utilised by the rulers. An evaluation of the impact of doctrine on the conceptualisation of the meta-physical realm will help to establish a link back to the meta-physical entities as they were portrayed in chapter two. Their significance for the development of ritual strategies that made use of meta-physical symbolism, as discussed in chapter three and this current chapter, will also be addressed.

2. Doctrine and kingship

The sources examined in this chapter express certain modes of thought and notions of causation, which need to be contextualised so that the meaning of these documents can be uncovered in relation to the socio-political context. They rely upon a number of doctrinal aspects that serve to situate the appearance of meta-physical phenomena in a specific context. In terms of doctrinal texts that form an inherent backdrop to the situations discussed above as interpretative paradigms and countermeasures, the sutras represent the most immediate textual source. In my sample of data, the most popularly applied sutras in situations of crisis that involved meta-physical notions were the *Ninnō-kyō*, the *Dai hannya-kyō*, the

Hoke-kyō, *Yakushi-kyō*, and the *dhāraṇī* for Kujaku Myōō.¹¹⁰ It is interesting to note that the popularity of these texts changed over time. In the ninth century it seems that the *Dai hannya-kyō* was the most frequently recited sutra in times of crisis, while in the tenth century the *Ninnō-kyō* appears slightly more often. Nevertheless, the *Kongō-kyō*, *Hoke-kyō* and *Dai hannya-kyō* were also popular. In the eleventh century, which is characterised by the height of Fujiwara dominance, their subsequent decline and the beginning of the *insei* period, there is a marked increase in the number of the sutras and the frequency with which they were recited. It coincides with the period in which meta-physical beliefs were used to their full extent as a strategy to justify claims to power, as discussed in the previous chapter. In this century, the *Yakushi-kyō* replaced the *Kongō-kyō*, while the numbers declined overall in the twelfth century and the *dhāraṇī* for Kujaku emerged as one of the most popular texts.¹¹¹

Unfortunately, the documentary evidence for other traditions is scarce, since the *jingi* cult was not built on a scriptural tradition in the same way as Buddhism was. I have demonstrated that the belief system constituted a representation of the workings of the cosmos and its components were drawn from a variety of traditions. As such, it also incorporated Confucian values of sincere worship and virtuous rule and notions of kingship, which placed the emperor at the centre of the cosmos based on his mediating function between the two realms of heaven and earth. This amalgamation of ideas served as the doctrinal background for unusual events and illnesses, which the sutras echoed in their own terms. These sutras contain doctrinal notions that were directly relevant to the emperor and had to be adhered to. However, based on the *tennō*'s symbolic foundation of power, he could not address any of the Buddhist deities

¹¹⁰ See the conventions table for the full titles of the sutras.

¹¹¹ See appendix 8 for an overview of the sutras that were typically recited in the contexts of the keywords.

himself.¹¹² In order to assess the importance of certain Buddhist doctrinal notions for the interpretation of calamities in Heian Japan, some of the central ideas of the most popular sutras will be briefly listed here.

2.1 The doctrinal dimension expressed in meta-physical terms

The *Ninnō-kyō* relates directly to the duties of the ruler as opposed to the other sutras mentioned here, which mostly focus on the individual and the reasons for illnesses, as well as the methods for removing negative influences and restoring health. The most important passages of this sutra in terms of the issues under consideration here, can be found in chapters five (“Protecting the State”) and seven (“Receiving and Keeping”). Chapter five first of all illustrates the ambivalent nature of what Orzech refers to as spectres and spirits, but which are denoted by the term *kishin*. These entities can be benevolent or malevolent depending on whether the sutra is recited and propounded appropriately or not: “If they hear this scripture, they will protect your state. If a state is on the verge of chaos, the spectres and spirits form the vanguard of chaos. Because of the chaos of the spectres and spirits the myriad people become chaotic.”¹¹³ This passage evokes a theme that we have already encountered elsewhere, namely in the *Honchō monzui* when Miyoshi Kiyoyuki discussed virtuous rule and proper worship.¹¹⁴ The appearance of *kishin* and the aspects they manifest thus reflected the state that the country was in. It also indicates that all responsibility ultimately

¹¹² It is interesting to note that out of the three most important sutras for the protection of the state, namely the *Humane King Sutra*, the *Lotus Sutra*, and the *Golden Light Sutra*, the latter rarely occurs in these contexts.

¹¹³ Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*, 246. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*: 大王諸國土中有無量鬼神。一一復有無量眷屬。若聞是經護汝國土。若國欲亂鬼神先亂。鬼神亂故即萬人亂。當有賊起百姓喪亡。國王太子王子百官互相是非。 (T246, 08.840a).

¹¹⁴ *Honchō monzui*, 60, paraphrased: When the deities and *kishin* are worshipped properly and matters of the state are in order, they will rejoice and descend to earth, but when they are not worshipped properly, epidemics and disasters will ensue.

rested with the humans, whose actions determined whether evil influences could prevail or not, which echoes a continuous struggle between good and evil.

In the *Ninnō-kyō*, the occurrence of disasters is related to the decline of the Buddhist Law and the bad *karma* created by all beings.¹¹⁵ The only effective countermeasure in such cases, according to the scripture, is for the ruler to receive and disseminate this teaching because it is only the strength of the ruler that can successfully establish it.¹¹⁶ The passage serves to justify the exalted position of the ruler in Buddhist terms and presents one mode of kingship inherent to the Buddhist tradition. The disasters are divided into seven categories: 1) unusual phenomena relating to the sun and moon; 2) unusual phenomena relating to the stars, constellations and planets, or comets; 3) dragon conflagrations (i.e. thunderous sounds), demon conflagrations (i.e. plagues or epidemics), human conflagrations (i.e. unfavourable karmic conditions), forest conflagrations (i.e. forest fires due to drought) and fires in general; 4) altered seasons; 5) violent winds; 6) excessive heat, i.e. drought, so that grains do not ripen; 7) rebels and armed conflict.¹¹⁷ These seven difficulties accurately reflect the types of disaster that the Heian-period populace was also confronted with and attempted to account for in their own terms. This passage also incorporates the manifestations of demons and spirits (*kishin*) and instances of uncanny behaviour

¹¹⁵ Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*, 265-266. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*: 我滅度後法欲滅時。一切有情造惡業故。令諸國土種種災起。(T246, 842c).

¹¹⁶ Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*, 266: "I have entrusted this scripture to the kings of states and not to bhiksus and bhiksunis, upasakas and upasikas. Why is this? Because nothing but the august strength of kings is able to establish it." *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*: 我以是經付囑國王。不付比丘比丘尼優婆塞優婆夷。所以者何無王威力不能建立。(T246, 842c).

¹¹⁷ Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*, 266-267. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*: 佛言一者日月失度日色改變。白色赤色黃色黑色。或二三四五並照。月色改變赤色黃色日月薄蝕。或有重輪一二三四五重輪現。二者星辰失度。彗星木星火星金星水星土等諸星各各爲變或時晝出。三者龍火鬼火人火樹火。大火四起焚燒萬物。四者時節改變寒暑不恒。冬雨雪夏霜冰雪。雨土石山及以砂礫。非時降雹雨赤黑水。江河汎漲流石浮山。五者暴風數起昏蔽日月。發屋拔樹飛沙走石。六方賊來侵國內外。兵戈競起百姓喪亡。(T246, 843a)

of animals,¹¹⁸ which is directly related to the discourse of *mokke* and *tatari* as well as the causes for illnesses as they appear in the Heian-period sources.

The close resemblance between the sutra and the way in which disasters were depicted in Heian Japan hints at the profound impact it had on early Japanese modes of thought and at the potential Chinese provenance of the text. The themes encountered in these passages directly evoke the examples examined in the preceding chapters and the various contexts to which meta-physical entities were applied. They appear very Chinese in nature and deal directly with the concerns that the ancient Japanese had inherited from the continent. Orzech argues that the scripture was most likely of Chinese origin, despite the fact that it is usually ascribed to Kumārajīva.¹¹⁹ While this text can be related to the official role of the emperor and calamities on the level of the state, which equates with the content of imperial decrees, the *Yakushi Sutra* and *dhāraṇī* for Kujaku address the private level of illnesses affecting an individual. This division mirrors the separation of the discourses concerning *mokke* and *tatari* and those of *jaki* and *mononoke*.

The *Yakushi-kyō* focuses mostly on a combination of advice concerning the treatment of patients and the faith that should be placed in the benevolence of the Medicine Buddha. Recalling and reciting his name will not only help to cure disease but can also prevent other calamities such as nightmares and bad omens.¹²⁰ The significance of this source lies in the fact that it can provide us with

¹¹⁸ Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*, 267. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*: 天種種災無雲雨雪。地種種災崩裂震動。或復血流鬼神出現鳥獸怪異。如是災難無量無邊。一一災起皆須受持。讀誦解說此般若波羅蜜多。(T246, 843b)

¹¹⁹ For a summary of his arguments and other scholarship conducted on the topic, see Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*, 74-87, 289-291.

¹²⁰ https://www.buddhanet.net/pdf_file/medbudsutra.pdf Accessed: 2019/04/09: “Manjusri, if you come across any man (or woman) suffering illness, you should constantly cleanse him, bathe him and rinse his mouth. You should single-mindedly recite this *dhāraṇī* 108 times on his behalf, over his food, medicine or water from which insects have been removed. Once he has consumed the food or drink, his illness and suffering will disappear.” (32) “Moreover, if any sentient beings suddenly suffer nightmares and witness all kinds evil omens – such as flocks of strange birds, or hundreds of ominous signs throughout their homes – they need only venerate the World-

some insight into the logic of illnesses caused by meta-physical entities. Here, evil spirits and demons are portrayed as draining the vital energy (*ki*) of the people, which further confirms the view of *mononoke* put forward in chapter two.¹²¹ Rather than presenting a reason for the appearance of all types of misfortune and referring to laws of causation, this sutra as well as the one for Kujaku Myōō are focussed mainly on soteriological aspects of Buddhist belief. The prayer addressed to Kujaku is of interest due to its long lists of very specific illnesses, which includes those that were thought to be caused by evil influences such as ghosts or demons (鬼) and (鬼神). They display the potential for becoming possessed by evil Buddhist entities such as *garuḍa*, *preta*, and *yakṣa*, the power of spells and incantations, as well as demonic spirits and evil practices.¹²² Illnesses induced by *kishin* are listed among a variety of other ailments such as indigestion, headaches, migraines, or mouth ulcers, to name but a few.¹²³ Such entities are portrayed as causing illnesses due to their consumption of bodily components, among other things, which drains the life force. These texts thus give us a profound insight into the way in which the concepts of *jaki* and *mononoke* may have developed, which must thus be understood as consuming a person's *ki*.¹²⁴

Honoured Medicine Buddha with all kinds of wonderful offerings, and the nightmares, evil omens and inauspicious signs will all disappear, no longer able to cause them harm.” (35)

¹²¹ Based on the version from 650, 藥師琉璃光如來本願功德經, no. 450 in vol. 14, see *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*: 亦復不爲諸惡鬼神奪其精氣。 (T450_14.0406c05).

¹²² *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*: 彼等或爲天龍所持。阿蘇羅所持。摩嚕多所持。摩嚕拏所持。彥達嚩所持。緊那囉所持。摩護囉識所持。藥叉所持。囉利娑所持。畢嚩多所持毘舍遮所魅。步多所魅。矩畔拏所魅。布單那所魅。羯吒布單那所魅。塞建那所魅。嚩麼那所魅。車耶所魅。阿鉢娑麼羅所魅。塢娑跢囉迦所魅。 (T982, vol. 19, 416b-c).

¹²³ *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*: 一切瘡病四百四病。或常熱病偏邪病癰病。鬼神壯熱風黃痰癰。或三集病飲食不消。頭痛半痛眼耳鼻痛。脣口頰痛牙齒舌痛。 (T982, vol. 19, 416b-c).

¹²⁴ *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*: 復有諸鬼食精氣者食胎者。食血者食肉者。食脂膏者食髓者。食生者食命者。食祭祠者食氣者。食香者食鬘者。食花者食果者。食苗稼者食火祠者。食膿者食大便者。食小便者食涕唾者。食涎者食洩者。食殘食者食吐者。食不淨物者食漏水者。 (T982, vol. 19, 427c).

While the *Lotus Sutra* does not offer any precise information regarding evil influences, it still confirms the view held in the *Ninnō-kyō*, namely that the occurrence of calamities and illnesses is the result of the declining age after the extinction of the Buddha. Those are the conditions that give rise to evil entities that possess others.¹²⁵ Doctrinally, these sources present the same logic that is also apparent from the Japanese primary sources. However, in practice, the notions of causation differ significantly. In Heian Japan, it was neglectful behaviour and human error that incited the wrath of the *kami*, who, in turn, caused the various disasters and ominous signs. It is not explicitly stated that the declining age and the accumulation of bad *karma* could also generate such forms of cosmic retribution. The Buddhist worldview could be included, since inappropriate human behaviour would still incur bad *karma* and could be associated with the impurity caused through those actions, but it does not constitute a straightforward argument and does not appear as such in the sources themselves. In terms of calamities affecting the whole nation that fell into the emperor's domain of responsibility, we must conclude that other modes of thought and doctrinal aspects were more prominent. Furthermore, we must not forget that Buddhism had already merged with other forms of thought in China and thus cannot be strictly separated from continental visions of statecraft. The depiction of doctrinal issues is perhaps most obvious when it comes to explanations of illnesses and the effect of evil influences on the human body. I would now like to briefly turn back to the primary sources and ascertain the presence of certain doctrinal elements within these texts.

¹²⁵ See chapter 13 of the *Lotus Sutra* in Watson's translation. Watson, Burton. *The Lotus Sutra*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

2.2 The expression of doctrinal issues in the Japanese context

Many of the primary sources convey a certain attitude towards calamities and the involvement of the deities. The resemblance to the Buddhist doctrinal sources is immediately obvious, but the texts display an approach that had absorbed various modes of thought and adapted them to the Japanese circumstances. In order to illustrate this point, I would like to revisit Tadazane's address to the earthly deities in 1117.¹²⁶ The document relates to the mistakes made regarding the construction work that was being undertaken in the eastern district of the capital. It seems as if the neighbouring province to the east was facing certain difficulties in managing the construction work despite the fact that it had been a very bountiful area in the past. The court nevertheless acknowledged the people's efforts in providing materials and bestowing their well-wishes on the emperor even though they were facing many hardships themselves. Tadazane asks what kinds of restrictions had been transgressed and confirms that there was a certain fear of strange apparitions.¹²⁷

Based on the modes of thought contained in the sutras, this passage could be read in a way that human error had caused the accumulation of negative actions to the extent that evil influences must be feared as a consequence. Such an abundance of negative energy presented favourable conditions for the emergence of such entities that then drained the life energy of sentient beings. However, based on what we know about the variety of deities in Japan and how easily they were offended if disturbed in a particular location, we may also infer that a certain deity could have caused *tatari*, which would then lead to the occurrence of strange phenomena. Both explanations seem equally plausible, and,

¹²⁶ *Chōyagunsai*, 55.

¹²⁷ *Chōyagunsai*, 55: 爰東三條第者。累代之勝地也。便占其東隣。聊排此黃閣。程巧致功。雖有鳥雀之朝賀。推石布土。猶思黎民之所苦。何況經始之間。自犯忌禁。栖息之處。猶畏妖怪。

indeed, this document itself promotes an inclusive view of various traditions of thought, which must thus be represented in the episteme.

The next passage relates to the ritual measures employed to restore the balance between the visible and invisible realms. The emphasis is placed on the proper preparation of all materials and the appropriate adornment of the altar for worship, and the need for spiritual sincerity (仍凝精誠) in presenting the prayers, which are notions that we have encountered frequently in the primary sources. Especially the aspects of sincere worship and profound faith appear repeatedly in an age when respect for the deities was obviously in decline. Confucian notions become even more pronounced when it is stated that “calamities do not triumph over virtue, and evil does not encroach upon what is just.”¹²⁸ This assertion can be related to the behaviour of all people, but most notably evokes the position of the ruler which constituted the embodiment of virtue that could regulate the realms of heaven and earth.

With an interesting parallelism, Buddhism is introduced into this reasoning: “Just as the masses follow the emperor [and gather] like the water of the ocean, all phenomena take refuge in the Buddha’s vehicle.”¹²⁹ The central position of the emperor within the Confucian vision of statecraft is equated with the centrality of the position of the ruler within Buddhism as a guiding force. “When there are demons and evil spirits, the methods of compassion and understanding disperse the evil heart. When the commoners (i.e. unenlightened beings) have become negligent, apologies at ancestral shrines turn into far-reaching protection.”¹³⁰ These ideas are presented in a parallel structure which suggest that Buddhism can remove evil influences and enhance the efficacy of

¹²⁸ *Chōyagunsai*, 55: 天不勝德。邪不侵正。

¹²⁹ *Chōyagunsai*, 55: 衆流遂朝海水。万法悉歸仏乘。According to Nakamura 万法 denotes all *dharma*s as expressed in all phenomena, or the *dharma* that has become manifest in all phenomena, see Nakamura Hajime. *Bukkyōgo Daijiten*, 1286.

¹³⁰ 縱有鬼魅之鬼灵。忽散邪心於惠解之風。縱有凡夫之過怠。遠成擁護於祠謝之[]。

rituals for the indigenous deities and beliefs. Notions of the *jingi* are seamlessly incorporated into the Buddhist concept of benevolence.

This portrayal of the role of Buddhism for the populace is further corroborated by the next passage, which lists the benefits that will be received if the teaching is fertilised and disseminated widely to all followers. This bond between the people and the Buddha will then persist through the ages and ensure the prosperity of the dynasty's descendants. Of particular significance is the following statement: "Bad dreams and *mokke, jaki* and vengeful spirits,¹³¹ fighting and illnesses, floods, fires and thieves, warfare, poison, weapons and injuries, offensiveness and curses; like this, all difficulties will be removed eternally."¹³² The address to the deities ends with the higher-ranking courtiers presenting their wishes to the Three Treasures of Buddhism and the invocation of the divine help of the Buddhist deities. While this address to the earthly deities exemplifies the attempts to subsume beliefs in the *kami* under the Buddhist discourse, it also demonstrates that the integration of these different traditions into one overarching cosmology recurrently falls back upon certain motifs. These were the centrality of the ruler, the logic of calamities and illnesses as being caused by inappropriate human behaviour, and concepts of virtue, purity, and sincerity as traits that should be aspired to. They must be viewed as the primary modes of thought that were able to establish connections between the different traditions and must thus be evaluated as central aspects of the episteme. In general, we cannot separate these belief systems from one another unless we are presented with the discourse of imperial authority and the position of the emperor, which was an inherent distinction that was stipulated by Heian-period thought, or, indeed, pre-modern thought more broadly.

¹³¹ Note that the concepts are separated here.

¹³² 至惡夢物怪。邪氣怨靈。鬭諍病患。水火盜賊。兵毒仗害。厭味咒咀。如此諸難。永以消除。

Most reports to the deities reflect the fear of illnesses and calamities, so that prayers were often aimed at securing protection for oneself and worldly benefits. The imperial decrees incorporated the larger concerns of calamities and epidemics, *mokke* and *tatari*, which occur as general variations on the theme of the declining state and matters to do with the proper worship of the deities. Since we have established the fact that meta-physical¹³³ and doctrinal¹³⁴ aspects were employed to validate notions of authority and legitimacy, we must distinguish between what is advocated in the texts and what actually appears in terms of socio-political reality.

2.3 Doctrinal expressions of meta-physical notions

There is a substantial difference between the motives articulated in relation to the meta-physical realm – often of a ritualistic or “religious” nature – and those that can be ascertained based on the extant records detailing socio-political realities. While, in theory, a wider variety of options was available to the elite and ritual specialists to draw on in the sense of a repertoire, not all of those discourses were put into practice and applied to the situations encountered in everyday life. Based on the examination of a variety of primary sources, we can single out the three most prominent explanations for calamities, all of which rested on the assumption that the appearance of meta-physical entities and strange phenomena presented a reflection of the state the country was in. Furthermore, meta-physical notions and beliefs were applied to certain situations due to the doctrinal background, which presented them as a logical consequence.

¹³³ i.e. the way in which meta-physical entities were referred to in the sources and applied to certain situations.

¹³⁴ i.e. the modes of thought and interpretation contained within the texts, but especially within canonical scriptures such as the Buddhist sutras.

While we cannot speak of a doctrine in terms of the *jingi* cult during this era, it has nevertheless become clear that there was a consistent logic that was applied to beliefs in the *kami* and their worship, which were generally accepted and understood by everyone.¹³⁵ This logic included a very specific mode of thought concerning the interpretation of calamities and illnesses, which rested on the assumption that the *kami* had been insulted through neglectful behaviour and were thus causing *tatari* and the appearance of *mokke*. This discourse represents the most frequently applied set of explanations and constitutes the one that is most apparent to the modern observer. The emperor's body often became a vessel into which the problems of the country as a whole were projected, so that his body became a symbolic representation of the state. Similarly, the body politic depended on him especially when confronted with the meta-physical realm. The emperor could only address the *kami* directly and consciously excluded from the imperial discourse other entities that were not directly conducive to supporting imperial authority.¹³⁶

To a certain extent, this challenges Kuroda Toshio's view of Shinto as having been entirely defined by Buddhism throughout its early history, which he put forward in his seminal article "Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion".¹³⁷ The distinction between the *jingi* cult and Buddhism as an overarching principle is far more nuanced than Kuroda's assertions suggest. His claims can be ascertained by the fact that the general court nobility adhered to the overarching

¹³⁵ As there is no scriptural canon regarding the *jingi* cult apart from the mythology contained in the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, the ritual aspect contained in the *Engi shiki*, as well as scattered references throughout the sources and in essays collected in compendia such as the *Heian ibun*, there is no definitive source that presents a comprehensive view of the cult. See also chapter 1 in Breen and Teeuwen, *Shinto in History*.

¹³⁶ The Mishuhō itself was intended to regenerate the body of the emperor by consecrating the imperial robes and thus identifying him as a *cakravartin*, which legitimised his position in the state. See Mack, Karen. "Reconsideration of the Program of the Goshichinichi Mishuhō". *Proceedings of the International Conference on Esoteric Buddhism*, edited by Executive Committee, IABS. Wakayama-ken: Koyasan University, 2008; Ruppert, Brian. *Jewel in the Ashes: Buddha Relics and Power in Early Medieval Japan*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000, 102-129.

¹³⁷ Kuroda, "Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion", 7-16.

Buddhist principle and incorporated the *kami* into this framework based on notions of benevolence and compassion. However, as we have seen, the imperial discourse is clearly distinguished from other types of communication and addresses the *jingi* as the sole ultimate source of authority and legitimacy. The *tennō* did not address any other deities unless they were associated with the justification of imperial power – otherwise they were written on his behalf by high-ranking court nobles or the retired emperor.

In a similar fashion, no Buddhist activities or elements were permitted within the precincts of the Ise Shrines. Kuroda refers to this point by stating that Buddhist priests still visited the shrine and the Ise priests were equally knowledgeable when it came to Buddhism, which according to him does not “imply a rejection of Buddhism but rather indicates a special attitude or etiquette assumed in the presence of the *kami*.”¹³⁸ We may similarly infer that the emperor’s complete disregard of Buddhist entities in his decrees does not imply that he did not believe in Buddhism. Indeed, we know that the emperor participated in Buddhist ceremonies, revered the deities and trusted in the scriptures. What is particularly striking, however, is that the discourse of calamities and the emperor’s reaction to them in the form of imperial decrees necessitated a strict separation of his position and the symbolic associations with rulership and divine ancestry. In these cases, this particular set of explanations and the *tennō*’s relation with the *kami* could not be integrated into the Buddhist framework, but needed to be isolated to make its significance stand out even more clearly. This separation imbues the emperor’s position with a divine quality that cannot be seamlessly integrated into the Buddhist discourse despite its inherent notions of kingship. These will be discussed below.

¹³⁸ Kuroda, “Shinto in the History of Japanese Religion”, 13.

The Buddhist interpretation of calamities rested on the assumption that the world was in decline due to the latter age of the *dharma* and the fact that Buddhist law was not being propagated diligently enough.¹³⁹ The Confucian view criticised neglectful behaviour and inappropriate worship, especially when it came to the position of the ruler and a lack of virtue.¹⁴⁰ This idealisation of virtue and appropriate behaviour can be applied to both the *jingi* and Buddhist cults, since it represented an overarching mode of thought in line with the Confucian conception of the state and the *ritsuryō*. In theory, all of these modes of explanation were legitimate, and they all referred to the same issues of mundane life, but one discourse seems to have been more prominent in actual practice, namely the phenomena caused by the *jingi*. This discourse could be conveniently integrated into Buddhist cosmology, but it could just as easily exist as an independent set of explanations without reference to an overarching paradigm. As the highest beings in the pre-modern Japanese universe, their wrath presented a viable and conclusive interpretation of all unfortunate events. We are thus confronted with a binary logic, which could be either related to the *kami* alone or the Buddhist worldview, or even both of them in conjunction, which illustrates the flexibility of the paradigm as a feature of the episteme.

Many doctrinal aspects that relate to beliefs in evil influences confirm a number of the conclusions drawn in chapter two. Their ultimate function was to signify the declining state of the country and the disruption of the balance between the visible and invisible realms. It was assumed that this balance was disrupted by human actions, which could cause *kegare* and impurity and contributed to an overall abundance of negative forces, resulting in favourable conditions for meta-physical entities associated with disaster and illnesses. As

¹³⁹ See, for example, *Hyōhanki*: 1155/02/01, vol. 1, 300; *Heian ibun*: 1023/12/01, vol. 3, 671; *Taiki*: 1142/07/20, 158; *Shunki*: 1039/10/05, 31.

¹⁴⁰ See, for example, *Shunki*: 1040/08/03 and 1040/08/09 <http://rakusai.nichibun.ac.jp/kokiroku/list.php> Accessed: 2019/04/11; *Iwashi Tanaka*: 1022/02/19, vol. 1, 25, 1077/04/14, vol. 1, 26, and *Iwashi tsuki*: 1099/03/15, vol. 5, 444.

markers of deterioration they were applied to specific circumstances which could be manipulated to a certain degree in order to draw attention to political factions and their affiliated ritual institutions. In this sense, the keywords were used as meta-physical expressions of socio-political truths and ambitions. Many of the concepts that the terms express were already present in some form in the continental canonical scriptures, but they were extended by Japanese modes of interpretation. This resulted in the involvement of the *kami* in the logic of cause and effect and their recourse to *tatari* and other natural phenomena that could wreak havoc on the human realm. Furthermore, it defined the exact specifications of beliefs in *mononoke* and vengeful spirits. The addresses to the deities provide the logical contexts to the application of the terms in the diaries as they were analysed in the preceding chapters. In conclusion, meta-physical beliefs cannot be comprehended to their full extent when they are treated as isolated phenomena. They were intricately interwoven with the Japanese vision of statecraft, the articulation of power relations, and imperial authority. If we neglect these aspects of the meta-physical discourse, then we also disregard significant and fundamental constituents of Heian-period thought and cosmology.

2.4 Socio-political expressions of meta-physical notions

In socio-political terms, doctrinal issues were expressed, and beliefs were disseminated, based on the activities of ritual institutions, ritual specialists and the opinions held by those in power. Temple and shrine networks and their affiliations with aristocratic or imperial patrons influenced the relations between certain institutions. Similarly, the institutions that were primarily related to imperial rule, such as the twenty-two shrine system, were characterised by the continuous competition for imperial favour and material benefit. These networks served to restrict the application of the meta-physical discourse as has further

been confirmed by the fact that only some groups were able to address certain deities, while others were limited to certain factions, or indeed solely to the emperor himself. The bureaucratic hierarchy is thus mirrored once again in the meta-physical realm, just as the position of these entities in the hierarchy determined the degree of devastation they could cause. Hence, the meta-physical discourse was delimited by socio-political relations.

Communication with the deities alongside the construction of ritual institutions and the implementation of ritual regimes were strategies that linked certain factions to predefined parts of the invisible realm and enhanced their positions by drawing upon meta-physical legitimacy. The way in which the ruling factions approached the meta-physical realm indicates that the appearance of evil influences and the modes of communication available to each of them were used as a means to support legitimacy, be it imperial authority, or a justification of important positions at the court. For instance, the Fujiwaras' approach to the meta-physical realm must naturally differ in its execution from communications initiated by the emperor, as they did not possess the same means of access and their ties with the invisible realm were not based on the same assumptions.

Based on the various court factions and rivalries, each group necessarily sought to establish ties with monastic institutions and networks that looked favourably upon their endeavours. Thus, over time, posts such as becoming the abbot of a particular temple were gradually associated with specific government positions, as Bauer has demonstrated.¹⁴¹ In actual practice, it was mostly the shrines or imperial tombs that caused *tatari*. Only in rare cases did Buddhist institutions appear in relation to such matters, which was mostly due to their active promotion of the centrality of the ruler based on the symbolism associated

¹⁴¹ See Bauer on the Fujiwara dominance of the board of controllers (*benkan* 弁官) and its association with the position of the Kōfukuji lay abbot as well as their role in the *Yuima-e* (維摩会): "Conflating Imperial and Monastic Lineage", 251-254.

with the deity enshrined there. As mentioned previously, the emperor often appears in the context of *tatari* as the prime target, which supports his fundamental role as a representative of the state and portrays him as the vital link between the meta-physical and mundane realms. It is thus necessary to examine the different modes of kingship as they are expressed in the sources, which can reveal more about the nature of the *tennō*'s authority and his separation from the meta-physical conceptualisations as they were adhered to by the rest of the nobility.

2.5 Articulations of kingship in the imperial discourse of power

Apart from the *tennō*'s divine ancestry, the imperial discourse of authority also relied on the association of the ruler with the Pole Star as the centre of the cosmos, with the wheel-turning sage king (*cakravartin*) of the Buddhist tradition and with certain deities that were transformed into imperial ancestors. It was during the reign of Empress Suiko (r. 593-628) that the modes of kingship were redefined in accordance with Chinese notions of a universal and sacral ruler.¹⁴² Based on this ideological reconceptualization, the ruler became associated with the Pole Star as it had been portrayed in the *Analects of Confucius*: "He who exercises government by means of his virtue [and thus] may be compared to the north polar star, which keeps its place and all the stars turn towards it."¹⁴³ The relations between the ruler and heaven and earth were further incorporated into the *Seventeen Article Constitution*, which depicted the notion of virtue as the central value by which balance and harmony could be achieved.¹⁴⁴ These developments had an impact on the eventual adoption of the title of a heavenly sovereign, which

¹⁴² Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*, 66.

¹⁴³ Ibid.: 83. *Analects*, 2.1 as translated by Legge: <https://ctext.org/analects/wei-zheng>
Accessed: 2019/04/16.

¹⁴⁴ Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*, 83-89.

evoked these particular connotations. As the previous sections have shown, the association of the ruler with the centre of the universe was further reinforced through his relationship with Hokushin and Myōken.

In contrast, the Buddhist notion of the *cakravartin* portrayed the ruler as the saviour of his people, who was to govern his country in accordance with the *dharma*. However, such beings transcended the bounds of this world and were seen as legendary universal monarchs who reigned over cosmic continents.¹⁴⁵ The reconciliation of the Confucian model of kingship with Buddhist cosmology can be traced back to Kūkai's attempts to reconfigure the role of the emperor. In fascicle 2 of his *Ten Abiding Stages*,¹⁴⁶ Kūkai presents his thoughts regarding ideal rulership while acknowledging the fact that the Japanese emperor was still positioned in the lower reaches on the path to becoming a *cakravartin*. The reason for this was that in order to become such an extraordinary ruler one had to have mastered the ten good deeds, be a paragon of moral virtue in accordance with the *dharma*, and be in possession of the seven imperial regalia, which included the *cakra* as a world-conquering weapon and the wish-fulfilling jewel (*cintāmaṇi*). The latter was considered by Kūkai to be particularly significant as a symbol of the power of *mantra* in line with his theories of language and the cosmic text.¹⁴⁷

He sought to reconcile Buddhism and Confucian theories of virtue and rulership by embedding the notions of morality into the larger framework of Buddhism as signs of the same cosmic text, which thus had to correspond to the Buddhist theory of *karma*. Kūkai granted the ruler a pivotal role in maintaining cosmic order, which incorporates the Confucian view of the role of the emperor, and argued that his divine status was not due to his ancestry, but rather the

¹⁴⁵ Abé, *The weaving of Mantra*, 330.

¹⁴⁶ Abé views this document as Kūkai's attempt to construct a model of the universe based on esoteric Buddhism through language and text. Ibid.: 328.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.: 330-331.

natural outcome of good deeds in past and present lives.¹⁴⁸ The value of the Confucian classics lay in the support they provided for the emperor, who was prone to moral failure due to his comparatively low position in the vastness of the Buddhist universe. He could only approach the ideal of a *cakravartin* by enacting his role as a righteous ruler and receiving the initiation into esoteric Buddhism (*abhiṣeka*).

In the later years of his life, Kūkai attempted to realise his vision of the Japanese emperor becoming a *cakravartin* by establishing a new court ritual, namely the Mishuhō as part of the Misaie, which was performed at the palace for the new year. It formed an esoteric counterpart to the recitation of the *Golden Light Sutra* and enabled the emperor to assume the role of a *cakravartin*, which was re-enacted and renewed each year. Through the ritual of the empowerment of the emperor's robe, the power of the *cintāmaṇi* was transferred onto the *tennō*, which granted him one of the seven regalia. Furthermore, the main object of worship was not Dainichi, but rather Hōshō Nyorai 宝生如來 (the "One Arisen from the Jewel"), who was an embodiment of the wish-fulfilling jewel. It is also significant to note that the Five Wisdom Kings formed a prominent component of the ritual. Fudō Myōō was singled out specifically through the performance of two *goma* rituals for him,¹⁴⁹ which confirms the close ties between a very specific set of deities and the discourse of calamities that automatically evoked notions of rulership and the state of the country. While it is difficult to prove the continued importance of Kūkai's vision of the imperial ruler, we can nevertheless recognise that symbolic associations, such as centrality, cosmic order and righteousness persisted throughout the Heian period and supported the emperor's position.

¹⁴⁸ This is based upon the arguments put forward by Chinese Buddhist scholars who sought to demonstrate that the Buddhist precepts and Confucian moral principles were compatible, see Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 329.

¹⁴⁹ For a detailed discussion of Fudō's centrality in ritual procedures designed to remove evil influences from the body, see chapter three in this thesis.

Another Buddhist notion of kingship that was used to justify the position of the ruler, retired emperors and eventually imperial princes was the ideal of the Dharma King (*hōō* 法王). Emperor Uda (r. 887-897) was the first abdicated emperor to receive the full precept ordination (*abhiṣeka*) and to establish the precedent for subsequent generations. Thereby, the retired emperors acquired the right to govern the *saṅgha* and define its relation to the state as an institution that was external to the *Sōniryō* 僧尼令, the regulations for the monks and nuns as they had been incorporated into the *ritsuryō*. In preparation for their retirement they built grand temples, such as Shirakawa's Hosshōji, where they would then take up residence. Their head abbots were usually chosen from among Kōfukuji, Tōji, Enryakuji and Onjōji, representing the Hossō, Shingon and Tendai sects, which is remarkably similar to the types of institutions that Michinaga relied on, as discussed in the third chapter.

Abé notes that this development “became symbolic of the symbiotic relationship among Buddhism, the state, and Shintō worship, a relationship made possible by Buddhist ideology.”¹⁵⁰ He validates his claim by quoting an announcement made by Shirakawa in 1122, when he promoted the symbiotic relationship between the kingly law (*ōbō*) entrusted to the rulers and the Buddhist law (*buppō*) that can only be disseminated through the ruler.¹⁵¹ This endorsement of Buddhism by the emperors and retired emperors themselves makes the separation of the discourse related to the *tennō* in the context of any type of communication with the meta-physical realm all the more pronounced. The Dharma Emperor came to dominate certain domains related to the management of Buddhist institutions, such as overseeing the appointments of abbots at major temples and mediating between the different institutions.¹⁵² The

¹⁵⁰ Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 376-377, quotation from 377.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.: 378.

¹⁵² Ibid.: 379.

establishment of the institution of *hōō* was further extended to include the imperial princes as *hōshinnō* 法親王 (imperial dharma princes) under Shirakawa, which served to consolidate the power of the retired emperors based on the conflation of imperial and monastic lineage.¹⁵³

The last mode of integrating notions of imperial authority into communications with the meta-physical realm as it has been identified in the sources, was based on the invocation of imperial ancestors. They were often represented by imperial tombs or shrines that venerated the mythical rulers, and the deity Hachiman, who was referred to as a bodhisattva. Many of the imperial decrees were addressed to Iwashimizu Hachiman, who constituted a deity of mixed origins but only became identified as a bodhisattva from the ninth century onwards. The deity suddenly rose to prominence during the construction of the *daibutsu* for Tōdaiji during the mid-eighth century. Hachiman provided divine assistance throughout the process and came to determine important political outcomes based on his unique trait of presenting oracles, which were revealed through mediums and interpreted by specialists. These functions of the deity established an intimate relation with the imperial institution, so that he came to be seen as the ultimate arbiter of legitimacy in political matters.¹⁵⁴

Furthermore, once Iwashimizu Shrine was built in 859 by the Fujiwara family, associations with imperial ancestors such as Emperor Ōjin and his mother Jingū became more prominent and Hachiman was regarded as their

¹⁵³ For more information see Bauer, "Conflating Monastic and Imperial Lineage", 240-244.

¹⁵⁴ More details on Hachiman's rise to prominence can be found in Bender, *The Political Meaning of the Hachiman Cult*, 8-50. Scheid, Bernard. "Wer schützt wen? Hachimanismus, Buddhismus und Tennōismus im Altertum". *Asiatische Studien – Études Asiatiques* 68/1 (2014), 264-270. Mano traces the development of the Hachiman cult from its early beginnings until the late Heian period. According to him, the worship of Hachiman evolved out of two distinct traditions. The first was centred on Usa Shrine and the nearby mountain, where the resident deity was worshipped as a god of the mountain, of the water and of the fields. It is important to note that this deity was seen to be a direct descendent of Amaterasu. The second tradition was introduced to Japan by the Hata clan who had emigrated from the kingdom of Silla and gradually merged with the cult at Usa due to a series of events and oracles that confirmed the relation between the two. See *Nihon no kamigami wo shiru*, 20-27.

reincarnation, which served to justify the deity's loyalty to the imperial throne.¹⁵⁵ The relation to the emperors was reinforced by Emperor Seiwa's 清和天皇 (r. 850-881) assurance that it had been Hachiman who had helped him ascend the throne. Since it was Fujiwara no Yoshifusa 藤原良房 (804-872) who at the time held the position of regent for the child emperor, Scheid puts forward the view that the establishment of the Hachiman cult was used as a religio-political strategy to implement Fujiwara hegemony and secure their power. The oracles were gradually replaced by omens, which were not interpreted at the original shrines any more but rather by specialists at the court, which altered the purview of these communications. From the mid-tenth century onwards, Iwashimizu as an institution had risen to become the highest-ranking shrine apart from Ise.¹⁵⁶ It is interesting to see that the same factions and networks appear again and again in the contexts of the application of meta-physical beliefs and questions of authority, such as the Fujiwara and their association with the Hossō school, or the interpretation of omens and their manipulations, which echoes the way in which *jaki* and *mononoke* were removed from a patient's body. While the belief system of the Heian period was very extensive in its entirety, one of the most central discourses was actually quite restricted in its manifestation and application.

¹⁵⁵ Bender, *The Political Meaning of the Hachiman Cult*, 69-70. Scheid, "Wer schützt wen?", 72.

¹⁵⁶ Bender, *The Political Meaning of the Hachiman Cult*, 75-79. Scheid, "Wer schützt wen?", 274.

The conclusions drawn in this chapter challenge our commonly held view of Buddhism as constituting the overarching principle of Heian-period thought.¹⁵⁷ At the very least, it is necessary to offer a far more nuanced picture of the organisation of the different discourses that made up the belief system, especially in relation to imperial authority. When it came to communications with the meta-physical realm, the imperial discourse was epistemologically separated from all others, just as the *kami* were always differentiated from other groups of meta-physical entities, which resulted in a “bureaucratically” organised system. By first of all examining the attitudes towards the meta-physical realm and then the doctrinal aspects that had an impact on the predominant modes of thought, we have uncovered the mechanisms through which the imperial discourse was kept distinct and how the relations between Buddhism and the *kami* were conceptualised in other contexts. Moreover, I have demonstrated in this chapter that the meta-physical entities with intermediary functions, such as those denoted by the keywords, formed a necessary interface between the mundane realm and that of the plethora of deities. The meta-physical realm in general, as a theoretical construct that manifested itself through natural phenomena, represented a form of agency that served to inform the populace of the current state of the balance between the different realms and the country’s status within the overarching cosmology.

¹⁵⁷ Such generalisations are due in large part to Kuroda’s work on Shinto and the *kenmitsu taisei*, but scholars such as Abé have also argued for a dominant role of Buddhism throughout the Heian period. Abé sees Buddhism as an extension of, and a complement to, the Confucian values ingrained in the *ritsuryō* system. According to him, Buddhism provided a means to manage crises and had the ability to transform the *kishin* that were responsible for various disasters into guardian deities of the emperor’s rule (Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 315-321). I do not wish to discredit any of these arguments, as they are true for the majority of the Heian-period court nobility. I would just like to draw attention to the fact that, nevertheless, the meta-physical discourse involved with the articulation of the *tennō*’s authority was clearly differentiated from the common approaches to the meta-physical realm that were accessible to the courtiers in general.

Conclusion

Our original perception of the Heian cosmos as a densely populated, but ultimately arbitrary collection of entities and forces, has given way to an organised set of taxonomic relations that can be defined and described in terms of a holistic unit. This study began with the commonly accepted understanding of beliefs in meta-physical entities as disparate categories and isolated phenomena. As such, they were seen to have effects on the human realm in the form of illnesses and calamities and have been noted for their subversive political potential. It has ended, however, with a view of the cosmos as a self-regulating body that served to guide human behaviour and was centred on the position of the ruler in both cosmological and socio-political terms. All components contained within this organism, which were arranged in a complex epistemic web, fulfilled a specific purpose: They demarcated the conceptual boundaries between the various categories and structured the invisible realm in accordance with the social and political organisation of the state. The universe was thus concentric, since everything was focussed on human existence, with the ruler, as their representative, at its axis.

Due to the undeniable prominence of meta-physical beliefs throughout the Heian period, we began our enquiry by questioning the way in which such entities have been commonly portrayed based on the assumption that they served important epistemological functions. It was thus necessary to examine the predominant interpretative structures at the boundaries of knowledge and visualise the components of the worldview as a coherent and logical unit. The main aim of this thesis was to analyse the relevance of the meta-physical realm on the discursive level, the practical application of beliefs to concrete situations as a reaffirmation of their significance, and their role within the negotiation of power relations. The beliefs surrounding illnesses that were caused by evil spirits

and calamities that were ascribed to the *tatari* sent by the deities and other meta-physical entities have, until now, been restricted to these specific associations. However, it has become clear that they were part of an organic whole that was governed by an internal logic and constituted the worldview for the Heian-period elite, as this body of beliefs was coextensive with their experienced reality. As such an integrated part of the worldview, we became aware of the internal divisions that structured the meta-physical realm based on the applications of given sets of beliefs to specific circumstances. It was through their application and the purpose they served in situations of crisis that we uncovered the functional divisions between the overarching categories of *mono* and *kami*, along with their subdivisions. The apparent organisation of the invisible realm prompted further questions concerning the fundamental modes of thought, the perception of the cosmos, and the explanatory processes that resulted in the predominance of meta-physical beliefs as valid inferences.

The use of explanations involving meta-physical entities in relation to calamitous circumstances affecting mundane life has led to the realisation that they were intimately bound up with worldly objectives and ambitions, so that the entire meta-physical discourse becomes highly politicised. Rather than constituting a separate domain, the meta-physical realm was an extension of the socio-political sphere that could sanction or condemn certain actions. Conversely, it could also be manipulated by those who had internalised the structures of the episteme and were aware of the syntactic rules to a certain extent. Strange signs in nature or calamities could appear localised within or near the precincts of shrines, or, in rare case, temples, based upon which the association with a particular offended deity would be clear. However, if they affected the very centre of the Heian state, namely the emperor directly or the palace compound, the exact cause was open to interpretation and manipulation. These cases could also include calamities affecting the entire country such as unseasonal weather, floods,

or droughts. Ritual specialists and elite groups could either draw attention to a specific ritual institution because they were aware of deficiencies that would anger the affiliated deity,¹ or they could compete for attention from the centre when there were no specific indications and thus further their own objectives.²

As I have demonstrated, in situations of crisis that constituted cases of meta-physical interference, political actions cannot be understood without deliberating the application of meta-physical beliefs to the associated circumstances and vice versa. In fact, when the socio-political reality is contrasted with meta-physical expressions in relation to situations of crisis, the significance of the *tennō* is highlighted and continuously reaffirmed symbolically. This diverges significantly from the extent of power he actually held, which tended to be in the hands of the regents until the *insei* period. Correspondingly, we have seen how the use and application of the meta-physical discourse changed in relation to the shifting centres of power. While Buddhism provided the body politic with spiritual protection, it was the *jingi* cult that legitimised the allocation of roles within the state and granted political power.

Any changes in the social and political structure were mirrored in terms of how the meta-physical realm interacted with those in positions of power. From an etic perspective this means that those seeking to enhance or retain their positions consciously sought to appropriate the meta-physical discourse. Its application granted them irrefutable transcendent authority, alongside their political endeavours as they have been described by traditional historical studies. Socio-political relations were thus expressed in meta-physical terms that could align with a consistent explanation of the cosmos and account for the anomalies

¹ This was the case in 999, for example, when Ichijō Tennō was ill because of the damaged roof of Reiganji, which housed Myōken and thus incurred his wrath (see chapter 2).

² In 1010, for instance, ritual pollution (*kegare*) had upset the deities in the south-western direction and at Ōharano, who had consequently been causing heavy rainfalls. *Midō kanpakuki*, vol. 2, 75. As we have seen in chapter 3, this strategy was also appropriated by Michinaga due to his powerful position at the court throughout the mid-Heian period and focussed on those ritual institutions with which he had close ties.

represented by the meta-physical entities. As such they could be utilised as socio-political strategies, which means that socio-political concerns and disputes took on a further dimension through the meta-physical and symbolic realm. It thus seems reasonable to conclude that those in the highest positions depended upon the successful application and manipulation of the meta-physical discourse. The appearance of unusual phenomena that were clearly identified with the invisible realm had to conform to the objectives they were pursuing in the mundane realm. The blame for any disruptions could thus successfully be directed at particular social agents through the lens of having incurred the wrath of the deities.³

We began our enquiry by stipulating the mechanism of an episteme as a function that generates a set, namely the perception of the cosmos, its organisation and everything contained within it. As such it incorporates underlying principles and processes that determined the interpretative structures, which constituted the syntax as a deep structure. What then are the rules that the syntax should be seen to incorporate? It is of course impossible to list all of the rules and processes, but, based on the type of analysis pursued in this thesis, it has at least become feasible to describe some of the principles that defined a very specific context, namely the reaction to inexplicable events. First of all, we now know that events which defied all explanations based on empirical data were assigned to a specific meta-physical category depending on their characteristics. Through this universal procedure of assigning them to a category followed by a divination or exorcism, and the appropriate ritual response, order could be restored. The existence of such an overarching concept of order was confirmed through the occurrence of anomalies. It was represented by the tension between the mundane and meta-physical realms and this balance had to be maintained at all costs. We can almost envision these two realms as two sides

³ It would be interesting to examine the correlation between socio-political networks and the set of deities they interacted with.

of the same coin, or as the dual aspect of *yin* and *yang*, as exemplified by the *kon* 魂 and *haku* 魄 elements of the human soul. The former represents the celestial aspect of that which is light and rises and could thus be taken to refer to the meta-physical realm, while the latter constitutes the terrestrial aspect and that which is associated with form and hence the mundane realm. While this is pure conjecture on my part, the dynamics between the two realms and the correspondences to the aspects of *yin* and *yang* are too striking to dismiss completely. It would furthermore support the fundamental ideas relating to cosmogony as it was developed in Chinese thought, which saw everything in the universe as being created by the interaction between *yin* and *yang*, which had emerged out of the primordial *qi*.

Secondly, the overarching notion of order as the balance between the realms was founded upon morality and virtue, while its restoration depended on the benevolence of the deities. Inappropriate human conduct caused an overabundance of negative energy and thus forced the meta-physical realm to react. We can infer that all actions were judged and sanctioned by the meta-physical realm. While what was considered to be right or wrong indicated a minutely defined ethical dimension, it was simultaneously associated with the type of energy that was being created and set free in the cosmos. We have previously identified the three central merits that were seen to keep the realms in balance and were associated with positive energies, namely virtue, purity, and sincerity.

Thirdly, access to the meta-physical realm depended on a courtier's genealogy and position in the state. The emperor had a built-in mechanism that gave him sole access to the highest-ranking *jingi* due to the cultivation of his image as a living deity and the as the descendent of Amaterasu, which harks back to Tenmu's consolidation of imperial power. However, he was equally restricted, since he could not contact the Buddhist deities directly in situations of crisis,

unless they were associated with symbolic notions of kingship. In this sense, Amaterasu and the highest-ranking *kami* came to embody the most significant form of legitimisation. This leads to the last point, namely to the fact that there was a clear division of tasks not only with regard to the various ambiguous entities and forces contained within the meta-physical realm, but also between the predominant sets of belief relating to the *kami* on the one hand, and the Buddhist deities on the other. While the entities themselves merged based on the *honji suijaku* paradigm, they were still kept distinct based on their functions – at least throughout the Heian period. The Buddhist deities helped to restore harmony and provided protection for the state, the *kami* offered the ultimate form of justification by acting as moral regulators and singling out those responsible for particular events, i.e. those who held a certain amount of power. In this sense, right and wrong and the status quo were determined by the *kami*. While these points can necessarily only provide a glimpse of the syntactic rules, I hope that they can provide some insight into the workings of the episteme and how some of the principles contained within it were formulated.

The goal was furthermore to analyse the functions of the meta-physical beliefs and the invisible realm more generally without imposing any preconceptions and assumptions, or arguing that they are indispensable to what they effect, which constitutes a common critique of the functionalist approach. It is only through descriptions of cause and effect that we can hope to uncover more information about the Heian-period worldview, as there are no detailed definitions of the various meta-physical entities. This also applies to the countermeasures that were undertaken, such as rituals, and the outcome of the divinations, since the people were expected to understand what was meant. The documents reveal that it was the factors of effect and efficacy that were of primary concern to the Heian elite. This means that the application of certain

beliefs and actions to specific circumstances necessarily served to fulfil a purpose, which thus represent functions and render this approach functionalist in outlook.

While I have argued that the meta-physical beliefs under consideration in this thesis were, under certain conditions, required to explain a particular outcome, I have also emphasised that not all illnesses and calamities were necessarily due to meta-physical intervention. It is important to highlight the specific historical, political, and social circumstances that gave rise to very specific conditions and prompted the application of meta-physical explanations to those situations. I have thus tried to avoid the preclusion of functional equivalents, since, to my mind, the functions need not be exclusive. If we remind ourselves of the type of functionalism proposed by Hempel, the necessary condition was represented by the trait *i*, which led to the logical fallacy of affirming the consequent.

However, in our case, we cannot reduce the situations to simplistic statements of “if a, then b” since many factors were involved, and many criteria had to be satisfied in order to produce a certain outcome. This, in turn, is related to the syntax contained in, and generated by, the episteme, which produced the set of valid inferences. We would have to modify the statement to “if a_1, a_2, a_3, \dots (or a_n), then b”: If, for example, the emperor was ill or had been ill for a prolonged period of time, no other explanation could be found, other countermeasures had not been efficacious, strange signs had appeared at a particular ritual institution or the divination results pointed to a particular institution, then it could reasonably be inferred that his illness was due to a *tatari* inflicted upon him by one or more deities. Many more criteria could be added to this statement that also reflect the political tensions between certain factions or their ambitions, and many other factors.

Furthermore, it is impossible not to anticipate the outcome that meta-physical beliefs were applied to specific circumstances, which is attested to by the

many references to such instances throughout the Heian period. I have hence taken care to focus on the functions of meta-physical beliefs as they emerge from the sources themselves. In fact, the beliefs only appear in terms of the effects they had on human life. From an emic perspective, these are the manifest functions that are portrayed through the lens of the authors' attitudes towards such entities. By looking at the contexts – i.e. the distribution of power, resources, and meta-physical capital, as well as the different social groups, political factions and their aims – and the syntactical rules, we can also uncover the latent functions. This type of enquiry has led to some intriguing results regarding the elites in power, the negotiation of political matters through the meta-physical realm, the restrictions of the discourse in relation to social and political status, as well as the relationship between Buddhism and the *jingi* cult, which encompassed the mundane and meta-physical realms. Since we have argued for the continuity between the realms and a view of the cosmos as an organic unit, then any evaluation of mundane matters must necessarily include the meta-physical and symbolic expressions, if present, as well as their associations with particular entities and factions.

In my opinion, it is necessary to break away from the traditional functionalist approach and its constraints in order to focus on what the functions of meta-physical beliefs can reveal about life at the Heian court. Rather than stipulating the outcome, this type of analysis has unveiled further layers of the functions of beliefs in such entities and forces. It has furthermore revealed unexpected dimensions in which the repercussions of their associations could be perceived, such as in the articulation of social and political relations. Overall, I have demonstrated that they represented organising principles that structured, demarcated, and delineated not only within the invisible realm in terms of differentiated and hierarchically organised categories, but also in the mundane realm by drawing boundaries between groups and factions based on their

relations to the meta-physical realm. The most significant ramification of this structuring of the visible and invisible realms was the conscious boundaries drawn between the emperor and other members of the elite within communication processes. This positioning of the *tennō* again aligns perfectly with the conception of the cosmos as an organic whole which centred on the celestial ruler as the supreme arbiter of the relations between the realms.

The meta-physical beliefs represented by the keywords as intermediary forces, provided a further link between heaven and earth, or the deities and the people, due to their function of signifying a state of cosmic imbalance that needed to be rectified. In this way, their application constituted a mechanism that regulated human behaviour and condemned certain types of action based on the premise that everything in the cosmos resonated with everything else. While their primary function was to provide chaotic relations with meaning, they also hinted at political crises and struggles. As socio-political strategies that could be appropriated by rival factions in relation to ritual institutions, they indicated positions of power, since the *kami* ostensibly only targeted those in the highest positions. As a result, socio-political truths and ambitions were consequently also expressed in meta-physical terms as an extension of the traditional perception of political struggles as being firmly rooted in mundane reality. Through ritual these beliefs that were generated by the episteme were put into practice, which served a similar purpose: namely, to structure the worldview and arrange the cosmological notions in taxonomical and hierarchical schemes.

These functions, in turn, derive from the episteme and thus constitute valid inferences. The analysis of meta-physical beliefs on the discursive and practical levels, as well as in the processes of communication, has allowed us to gain more insight into some of the central aspects contained within the episteme. As an underlying structure it determined how the phenomena that were experienced by the people were processed and classified, and thus contributed to

their presentation within the sources. We have seen how the ruler and the deities associated with his position at the apex of the Heian state were correlated with cosmological notions of centrality so that the emperor became the representative of the country vis-à-vis the larger cosmos. The preservation of cosmic balance revolved around human behaviour and the key aspects of virtue, purity, and sincerity. As products of the episteme, the Heian-period elite that participated in this discourse had internalised the syntactical rules and the use of a specific terminology that was associated with situations of crisis and their resolution. The organisation of the state was largely based on collaboration in the form of networks and lineages, who, under the guise of having to maintain cosmic harmony, negotiated, challenged, or affirmed the predominant power structure. The episteme furthermore determined which aspects of the meta-physical discourse could be used for certain purposes and by whom. As a consequence, the *jingi* cult and the Buddhist discourse were arranged flexibly, since interactions with either of them depended on the situation, the position of the group or person, and their affiliation with particular meta-physical entities and their associated institutions.

This demonstrates clearly that the episteme produced a worldview and thus interpretative structures that consisted of both physical and meta-physical aspects. By stipulating the construct of an episteme in association with the functions of surface-level appearances as the product of that deep structure, we have been able to uncover the significance of meta-physical beliefs for the organisation and perception of the cosmos. This is based on the fact that they defined the role and place of humans within that configuration, and social and political interaction. However, it must also be kept in mind that the results presented in this thesis can only be ascertained for very specific contexts which had to fulfil a variety of criteria and were associated with a unique set of ambitions and aspirations. This is predominantly related to the fact that the

keywords under consideration here occur most frequently at the boundaries of knowledge, namely when illnesses and calamities threatened stability. It would be interesting to compare the emperor's regular use of the meta-physical discourse to the situations that have been examined in this thesis in order to make more general claims about his relation to certain subsets of entities. More work also needs to be done on the evaluation of the position of the *jingi* cult in relation to Buddhism that can account for the tendencies discovered here. I believe that this project has opened many further avenues for enquiry and can perhaps prompt a more holistic approach to not only the Heian period, but pre-modern Japan more generally.

Aside from demonstrating the centrality of the meta-physical discourse for the Heian-period worldview and articulation of power relations, it has become possible to modify certain claims that have been made about the belief system by scholars such as Kuroda Toshio that are still prevalent today. As I have demonstrated in chapter 4, it is impossible to hold on to the notion that Buddhism defined the belief system in its entirety, as the application of the meta-physical discourse was far more nuanced depending on the situation, the roles and positions of the participants, as well as the distribution of physical and meta-physical capital. While Mikael Bauer has attempted to contest other aspects of Kuroda's theories, he also argues that the establishment of the rule by retired emperors should not be seen as an outcome of Fujiwara rule but rather as a parallel development based on the relationships between prominent lineages and monastic institutions. Yet, I have illustrated in chapter 3 how similar the use of the meta-physical discourse as a socio-political strategy was both throughout the Fujiwara regency and the *insei* period, if the appearance of invisible forces is understood as a further dimension of the realm of mundane activities.

This highlights the importance of approaching issues that related to the organisation of the state, the negotiation of power, and matters pertaining to the

nobility from a holistic perspective. As it represented their worldview and formed part of the deliberations when confronted with significant matters relating to the state, we are neglecting important aspects of the process of interpretation and administration, if we continue to view these beliefs as negligible embellishments. By adding the meta-physical dimension, we have uncovered further components that had an effect on the dynamics of socio-political interaction and gained a more complete understanding of how the elite assessed their position in the cosmos. Perhaps the biggest contribution of this study relates to the fact that a simplistic evaluation of the appearance of *mononoke* or *tatari* as supernatural phenomena and as evidence for the proliferation of irrational notions of cause and effect has become untenable.

The questions of how entities such as evil spirits were perceived and whether or not people believed in their existence become marginal when we acknowledge the fact that the meta-physical aspects of the cosmos were just as much a part of the worldview of the nobility as those phenomena that could be described by direct observation. In the spirit of Newton's Third Law, every action causes a reaction in the system of balanced forces down to the most infinitesimal level, as there is always a pair of forces that exerts an effect on the interacting objects. The appearance of meta-physical entities such as *mononoke* or *tatari* was due to an overabundance of negative energy in the cosmos, which had been caused by the faults of humans in the first place. It is only through the existence of humans that the original, perfect balance of the cosmos is interrupted, which constitutes the necessary counterpart in terms of the equilibrium. Without both the positive and negative aspects nothing could exist, as it is the fluctuations in the balance that allows for entities of different compositions and dispositions. In this sense, the Heian-period worldview was logically consistent and entirely coherent.

Appendices

Appendix 1: The keywords at a glance

Jaki 邪氣

No.	Year	Month/Day	Context	Other Terms	Source
1.	957 (天徳 1)	6 / 6	Imperial Princess Yasuko died giving birth		<i>Kyūreki</i>
2.	967 (康保 4)	3 / 18	Crown Prince Norihira's illness	<i>Kaji</i> 加持, <i>chōbuku</i> 調伏, <i>ryōdanho</i> 兩壇法	<i>Sandai Gyoki</i> (Murakami Tennō)
3.	978 (天元 1)	4 / 9	Cutting of hair, i.e. entering priesthood		<i>Shōyūki</i>
4.	985 (寛和 1)	6 / 9	Illness		<i>Shōyūki</i>
5.	989 (永祚 1)	7 / 16	Court lady's illness, unable to move	<i>Kaji</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
6.	989 (永祚 1)	7 / 23	Sanesuke's daughter is unwell	<i>Kaji</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
7.	989 (永祚 1)	8 / 19	Daughter affected by <i>jaki</i>	Fudō	<i>Shōyūki</i>
8.	993 (正暦 4)	2 / 6	Pregnancy	<i>Kaji</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
9.	993 (正暦 4)	6 / 5	Serious illness, 2 or 3 <i>jaki</i>	<i>Kaji</i> , <i>yorimashi</i> 憑坐, <i>chōbuku</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
10.	993 (正暦 4))	6 / 8	Court lady's state of mind unusual	<i>Chōbuku</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
11.	993 (正暦 4)	6 / 14	Court lady suddenly very ill	<i>Kaji</i> , <i>chōbuku</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
12.	993 (正暦 4)	6 / 18	Relates to previous illness	<i>Kaji</i> , <i>chōbuku</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
13.	998 (長徳 4)	3 / 3	Michinaga's illness		<i>Gonki</i>
14.	998(長徳 4)	12 / 3	Childbirth	<i>Kaji</i>	<i>Gonki</i>
15.	999 (長保 1)	1 / 4	Empress Dowager ill	<i>Kaji</i> , transfer of <i>jaki</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
16.	1000 (長保 2)	5 / 14	Report on various matters	<i>Mishuhō</i> 御修法	<i>Gonki</i>
17.	1000 (長保 2)	5 / 17	Michinaga's illness	<i>Mishuhō</i> , Ninnōkyō recited on eighteenth	<i>Gonki</i>
18.	1000 (長保 2)	5 / 25	Michinaga's illness, words of <i>jaki</i>	<i>Reiki</i> 靈氣, <i>jarei</i> 邪靈, <i>mappō</i> 末 法	<i>Gonki</i>

19.	1002 (長保 4)	3 / 14	Illness	<i>Kaji</i>	<i>Gonki</i>
20.	1003 (長保 5)	8 / 21	Illness	Divination (Abe no Seimei)	<i>Gonki</i>
21.	1004 (寛弘 1)	1 / 28	Inability to control feet and hands	<i>Shuhō</i> 修法	<i>Gonki</i>
22.	1005 (寛弘 2)	4 / 7	Minamoto no Toshikata's illness, headache, fever, incoherent speech		<i>Shōyūki</i>
23.	1008 (寛弘 5)	9 / 10/11	Birth of imperial prince	<i>Yorimashi</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
24.	1012 (長和 1)	6 / 4	Michinaga's illness	<i>Shuhō</i> , cannot perform <i>Mishuhō</i> because of <i>tatari</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
25.	1012 (長和 1)	6 / 11	Illness, fever	Transfer of <i>jaki</i> , sutras	<i>Shōyūki</i>
26.	1012 (長和 1)	7 / 8	Empress Dowager and Minister ill	<i>Chōbuku</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
27.	1012 (長和 1)	7 / 20	Illness, pain	Sutras	<i>Shōyūki</i>
28.	1012 (長和 1)	7 / 27	Illness, pain		<i>Shōyūki</i>
29.	1012 (長和 1)	8 / 14	Sanjō Tennō's illness, fever	Divination	<i>Shōyūki</i>
30.	1013 (長和 2)	4 / 10	Fujiwara no Akimitsu's illness; interpreted as mental illness		<i>Shōyūki</i>
31.	1015 (長和 4)	5 / 2	Sanjō Tennō's illness; trembling of both hands	7 altars (<i>shichi dan</i> 七壇) <i>Mishuhō</i> , <i>kaji</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
32.	1015 (長和 4)	5 / 4	Illness of eyes because of Reizei Tennō's <i>jaki</i>	Transfer of <i>jaki</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
33.	1015 (長和 4)	5 / 20	Dreams of spirits, illness, cannot speak or drink		<i>Shōyūki</i>
34.	1015 (長和 4)	5 / 22	To do with Tendai Zasu's complaints Gashō's spirit	Bestowal of posthumous rank, <i>onryō</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
35.	1015 (長和 4)	5 / 27	Tennō's eye illness	Emergency pardon, <i>kaji</i> , exposes Shōten	<i>Shōyūki</i>

				聖天, <i>chōbuku</i> , <i>tatari</i>	
36.	1015 (長和 4)	6 / 11	Michinaga's illness, cannot eat or drink, epidemic		<i>Shōyūki</i>
37.	1015 (長和 4)	6 / 13	Illness	<i>Kaji, chōbuku</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
38.	1015 (長和 4)	6 / 19	Epidemic	<i>Tatari, jaki</i> of Ekijin 疫神	<i>Shōyūki</i>
39.	1015 (長和 4)	6 / 19	Illness, fever (Reizeiin's spirit)	<i>Kaji</i>	<i>Midō Kanpakuki</i>
40.	1015 (長和 4)	閏 6 / 12	Tennō's trouble with eyes	<i>Chōbuku</i> , spirit	<i>Shōyūki</i>
41.	1015 (長和 4)	閏 6 / 24	Still cannot see; related to previous illness		<i>Shōyūki</i>
42.	1015 (長和 4)	7 / 12-13	Sanehira's illness; stomachache, fever	Could be due to spirit possession/ <i>reiki</i> or <i>jaki</i> ; Because of epidemic no <i>kaji</i> , sutras, <i>tatari</i> , <i>ki</i> of spirits or <i>ki</i> of epidemics?	<i>Shōyūki</i>
43.	1015 (長和 4)	7 / 23	Empress Dowager's illness, cold then fever	<i>Ki</i> of epidemics, <i>jaki</i> increases <i>tatari</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
44.	1015 (長和 4)	9 / 5	Delay in dispatch to Ise because of <i>kegaré</i> 穢, could be due to <i>jaki</i>	Divination	<i>Shōyūki</i>
45.	1015 (長和 4)	12 / 9	Emperor's cold, prayers for <i>kami</i> so <i>kaji</i> cannot be performed	No <i>kaji</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
46.	1015 (長和 4)	12 / 12-13	Fujiwara no Yorimichi's illness, Michinaga offers horses to shrine	Prayers, <i>reiki</i> , <i>chōbuku</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
47.	1015 (長和 4)	12 / 13	General's illness	Prayers, transferred the <i>jaki</i>	<i>Midō Kanpakuki</i>
48.	1018 (寛仁 2)	閏 4 / 17	Michinaga's illness	<i>Mishuhō</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>

49.	1018 (寛仁 2)	閏 4 / 20	Michinaga's illness, cannot eat or drink, fever, <i>jaki</i> hints at person, resembles Fujiwara no Michizane's spirit	Godan Mishuho, Mishuho, 5 altars	<i>Shōyūki</i>
50.	1018 (寛仁 2)	閏 4 / 29	Comment refers to illness, text mentions <i>jaki</i>	Hosshōji	<i>Shōyūki</i>
51.	1018 (寛仁 2)	6 / 23	Michinaga's illness, <i>jaki</i> exposed themselves, divine message at Mt Kinpu	Prayers	<i>Shōyūki</i>
52.	1018 (寛仁 2)	6 / 24	Michinaga's illness due to <i>tatari</i> of Kibune shrine,	<i>Tatari</i> , divine response, addressing a specific <i>kami</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
53.	1019 (寛仁 3)	1 / 18	Michinaga's illness, his body is being hit with hands and feet		<i>Shōyūki</i>
54.	1019 (寛仁 3)	3 / 18	Michinaga's pain in chest due to the deities of Kibune and Inari	<i>Yorimashi</i> , (<i>tatari</i> implied)	<i>Shōyūki</i>
55.	1019 (寛仁 3)	5 / 11	Severe illness at Empress's palace	Prayers	<i>Shōyūki</i>
56.	1020 (寛仁 4)	9 / 11	Empress Dowager is afflicted, epidemic at the same time	Transferred the <i>jaki</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
57.	1020 (寛仁 4)	9 / 14	Epidemic, illness; Abe no Yoshihira's divination confirmed <i>jaki</i>	<i>Kaji</i> , secret words	<i>Shōyūki</i>
58.	1020 (寛仁 4)	9 / 28	Emperor's illness; reference to Four Heavenly Kings (Shitennō 四天王)	Transferred onto <i>yorimashi</i> , prayers	<i>Shōyūki</i>
59.	1020 (寛仁 4)	10 / 6	Emperor seriously ill	<i>Kaji</i> , transferred onto <i>yorimashi</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>

60.	1020 (寛仁 4)	10 / 8-9	Illness, many <i>jaki</i> visited, their voices were heard	Sutra readings at Kasuga, <i>Kujaku Sutra</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
61.	1022 (治安 2)	5 / 30	Illness	<i>Yorimashi</i> transfer, <i>reiki</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
62.	1025 (万寿 2)	8 / 5	Smallpox due to <i>jaki</i> caused by birth	<i>Kaji</i>	<i>Sakeiki</i>
63.	1028 (長元 1)	7 / 28	Kanpaku's illness	Resembles <i>mono no tatari</i> 物崇	<i>Shōyūki</i>
64.	1028 (長元 1)	9 / 28	Middle General's illness	<i>Tatari</i> of hearth deity (Kamadogami 竈神)	<i>Shōyūki</i>
65.	1039 (長暦 3)	10 / 13	Unusual state of mind, eyes not moving		<i>Shunki</i>
66.	1040 (長久 1)	9 / 21	Fire at palace, illness	Prayers, <i>kegare</i> , <i>tatari</i> , divination	<i>Shunki</i>
67.	1040 (長久 1)	9 / 24	Son's illness	Prayers for mountain and Misedera	<i>Shunki</i>
68.	1040 (長久 1)	12 / 8	Warrior's illness and death		<i>Shunki</i>
69.	1052 (永承 7)	5 / 4	Caused trouble		<i>Shunki</i>
70.	1052 (永承 7)	5 / 18	State of mind, illness, death	<i>Go-dan Mishuhō</i> 五壇御修法	<i>Shunki</i>
71.	1077 (承保 4)	8 / 18	Crown Prince affected by smallpox	Divination	<i>Suisaki</i>
72.	1077 (承保 4)	8 / 20	Crown Prince's illness	<i>Nenbutsu</i> , offerings, sutras, <i>kikisai</i>	<i>Suisaki</i>
73.	1077 (承保 4)	8 / 26	Crown Prince's illness	Prayers, sutras, <i>tatari</i> , divination, <i>kikisai</i>	<i>Suisaki</i>
74.	1077 (承保 4)	8 / 28	Same as above	Forgiveness of sins	<i>Suisaki</i>
75.	1077 (承保 4)	9 / 2	Same as above	<i>Tatari</i> , <i>Ōharae</i> 大祓	<i>Suisaki</i>
76.	1080 (承暦 4)	8 / 18	General of the Right's illness	<i>Tatari</i>	<i>Suisaki</i>
77.	1081 (承暦 5)	8 / 13	Illness	<i>Tatari</i> , divination	<i>Suisaki</i>
78.	1081 (承暦 5)	9 / 25	Smallpox/ red patches on arms	<i>Tatari</i> , divination	<i>Suisaki</i>

79.	1090 (寛治 4)	3 / 25	Imperial princess's illness (Teishi)	Godanhō 五壇法 (Five Altar Ceremony)	Chūyūki
80.	1094 (嘉保 1)	3 / 19	Attached to people	Sutra readings, <i>kaji</i> , exoteric practices	Chūyūki
81.	1095 (嘉保 2)	3 / 4	Imperial princess Teishi's illness	Go dan Mishuhō	Chūyūki
82.	1095 (嘉保 2)	5 / 10	Court lady's (Teishi?) illness	Prayers at Hosshōji	Chūyūki
83.	1095 (嘉保 2)	5 / 27	Same illness	Precedent and miraculous efficacy at Hosshōji	Chūyūki
84.	1097 (正徳 1)	1 / 4	Interference of <i>jaki</i>		Chūyūki
85.	1097 (正徳 1)	4 / 25	Grand Councillor Munetoshi's illness, could be <i>jaki</i>		Chūyūki
86.	1098 (正徳 2)	9 / 29	Palace guard's illness, it was just <i>jaki</i>		Chūyūki
87.	1098 (正徳 2)	10 / 26-30	Empress Tokushi's illness	<i>Kaji</i> ; recitation of <i>Great Wisdom</i> and <i>Lotus Sutras</i>	Chūyūki
88.	1099 (康和 1)	1 / 25	Court lady is dying		Osanburiuki
89.	1103 (康和 5)	1 / 25	Empress Fujiwara no Ishi ill	Inauspicious occurrences	Chūyūki
90.	1103 (康和 5)	11 / 4	Imperial princess Tokushi's illness		Chūyūki
91.	1104 (長治 1)	7 / 21	Illness of Empress (Tokushi), the monk Ningei receives second rank because of efficacy		Chūyūki
92.	1105 (長治 2)	7 / 29	Emperor's illness, <i>jaki</i> or demon spirit (<i>kirei</i> 鬼霊), deity of the hearth	Divination	Denryaku
93.	1106 (嘉承 1)	2 / 2	Court lady's illness; probably due to <i>jaki</i>		Chūyūki

94.	1106 (嘉承 1)	9 / 21	Illness, fever	<i>Godanhō</i> , sutras, <i>mononoke</i> , divination	<i>Chūyūki</i>
95.	1106 (嘉承 1)	10 / 19	Court lady's illness		<i>Chūyūki</i>
96.	1107 (嘉承 2)	5 / 25	Emperor's cold, <i>jaki</i> and Dokujin 土公神	Divination, sutra recitation	<i>Denryaku</i>
97.	1111 (天永 2)	3 / 9	Court lady's illness of chest		<i>Eishōki</i>
98.	1111 (天永 2)	5 / 13	Illness (retired emperor Shirakawa?)	Transfer, divination, offerings to twenty-two shrines, <i>shuhō</i> , <i>godanhō</i>	<i>Denryaku</i>
99.	1111 (天永 2)	5 / 16-21	Illness	Sutras, <i>kaji</i> , <i>godanhō</i>	<i>Denryaku</i>
100.	1111 (天永 2)	6 / 13	Illness, recovery	Transfer	<i>Denryaku</i>
101.	1111 (天永 2)	7 / 6	Court lady faints		<i>Eishōki</i>
102.	1111 (天永 2)	8 / 7	Court lady's illness	<i>Mono</i> , prayers	<i>Denryaku</i>
103.	1112 (天永 3)	8 / 3	Court lady's condition is unusual	<i>Kujaki Sutra</i> , offerings	<i>Denryaku</i>
	1112 (天永 3)	8 / 6	Court lady has been ill for three days	<i>Perfection of Wisdom Sutra</i> , worship of stars, Fudō, <i>shuhō</i>	<i>Denryaku</i>
104.	1114 (永久 2)	10 / 29	Fujiwara no Shōshi's illness	Transfer, <i>mononoke</i>	<i>Denryaku</i>
105.	1117 (永久 5)	6 / 14	Court lady is ill	<i>Kaji</i> , transfer, Goryō-e 御霊会	<i>Denryaku</i>
106.	1117 (永久 5)	10 / 3	Tadamichi's illness	Transfer of <i>jaki</i>	<i>Denryaku</i>
107.	1118 (元永 1)	8 / 2	Fujiwara no Zenshi	<i>Mononoke</i>	<i>Denryaku</i>
108.	1119 (元永 2)	5 / 28	Childbirth	<i>Kaji</i> , <i>mishuhō</i> , <i>ōharae</i> , seven stars mandala (<i>hokuto mandara</i> 北斗曼荼羅), <i>nenbutsu</i>	<i>Chōshuki</i>
109.	1124 (天治 1)	5 / 8	Childbirth	<i>Kaji</i> , sutra recitation	<i>Osanburiiki</i>
110.	1129 (大治 4)	7 / 7	Empress's illness just before childbirth	Prayers, <i>kaji</i> , sutra recitation at five shrines, rituals at Ninnaji	<i>Chōshuki</i>

111.	1129 (大治 4)	7 / 22	Empress's illness, <i>jaki</i> has not been transferred yet	Rituals, Fudō	<i>Chōshuki</i>
112.	1134 (長承 3)	11 / 29	Minister of the Right		<i>Chōshuki</i>
113.	1142 (康治 1)	8 / 5	Unusual occurrence	Divination, Taizan Fukunsai 泰山府君祭	<i>Taiki</i>
114.	1143 (康治 2)	閏 5 / 13	Smallpox, fever	Ritual for Enmaten	<i>Taiki</i>
115.	1143 (康治 2)	閏 5 / 15	Smallpox	Mononoke 物気, (on 21 st 5 altars, <i>kaji</i>)	<i>Taiki</i>
116.	1143 (康治 2)	7 / 15	Illness	(Earlier: recovery from illness due to Tendai, <i>kaji</i>)	<i>Taiki</i>
117.	1153 (仁平 3)	10 / 1	Illness	Sutra recitation, Kasuga	<i>Hyōhanki</i>
118.	1155 (久寿 2)	7 / 23	Kanpaku's trouble with eyes	Prayers for recovery and protection from Buddhas and deities, <i>kaji</i>	<i>Hyōhanki</i>
119.	1155 (久寿 2)	8 / 9	Kanpaku	Transfer	<i>Hyōhanki</i>
120.	1156 (久寿 3)	1 / 5	Princess of Kamo shrine died (aged 76)		<i>Hyōhanki</i>
121.	1157 (保元 2)	1 / 8	Someone is ill	Prayers, 5 altars, transfer	<i>Hyōhanki</i>
122.	1158 (保元 3)	2 / 3	Because of miraculous efficacy monk granted court rank		<i>Hyōhanki</i>
123.	1167 (仁安 2)	7 / 17	Empress's illness	Transfer	<i>Hyōhanki</i>
124.	1167 (仁安 2)	7 / 24	Empress's illness	<i>Genja</i> Kanshō removed the influence	<i>Hyōhanki Hyōhanki</i>
125.	1168 (仁安 3)	2 / 22	Illness at palace	<i>Kegare</i> , offerings, <i>ōharae</i>	<i>Hyōhanki</i>
126.	1178 (治承 2)	9 / 13	Wife of official died		<i>Osanburuiki</i>
127.	1178 (治承 2)	10 / 21	Empress giving birth	Long list of deities, <i>onryō</i> , <i>tatari</i> , <i>ōharae</i> , <i>kaji</i> , etc.	<i>Sankaiki/Osanburuiki</i>
	1195 (建久 6)	8	Emperor's illness, <i>genja</i> can't drive it away		<i>Meigetsuki</i>

Mononoke 物気

No.	Year	Month/Day	Context	Other terms	Source
1.	919 (延喜 19)	11 / 16	Tadahira's illness		<i>Teishinkōki</i>
2.	1018 (寛仁 2)	4 / 17	Illness		<i>Sakeiki</i>
3.	1020 (寛仁 4)	8 / 6	Illness; <i>mononoke</i> prevents recovery	Five Wisdom Kings (Godai Myōō 五大明王), <i>mishuhō</i> , <i>chōbuku</i> , <i>kaji</i>	<i>Sakeiki</i>
4.	1020 (寛仁 4)	9 / 24	Illness	Moxibustion, sutra recitation, <i>mono imi</i> 物忌	<i>Sakeiki</i>
5.	1020 (寛仁 4)	9 / 28	Illness	<i>Ōharae</i>	<i>Sakeiki</i>
6.	1020 (寛仁 4)	10 / 2	Emperor Go-Ichijō's illness, associated with <i>goryō</i> of Prince Atsuyasu	<i>Jaki</i> (a few days earlier), prayers, medicine	<i>Shōyūki</i>
7.	1025 (万寿 2)	8 / 3	Michinaga's daughter (Yoshiko) gives birth + illness	<i>Kaji</i> , <i>kami no ke</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
8.	1025 (万寿 2)	8 / 23	Illness, swollen elbow	<i>Mono</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
9.	1026 (万寿 3)	閏 5 / 9	Illness at palace	Shōten (Gaṇeśa), <i>chōbuku</i>	<i>Sakeiki</i>
10.	1031 (長元 4)	9 / 26	Daughters' illnesses, <i>kami</i> and spirits	<i>Reiki</i> , prayers	<i>Shōyūki</i>
11.	1101 (康和 3)	8 / 22	Empress's illness	<i>Kaji</i> , transfer of <i>mononke</i>	<i>Denryaku</i>
12.	1101 (康和 3)	10 / 14-16	Empress's cold, it could be due to <i>mononoke</i>	Offerings	<i>Denryaku</i>
13.	1104 (長治 1)	3 / 19	Lower back pain	Transfer of <i>mononoke</i> , <i>nenbutsu</i>	<i>Denryaku</i>
14.	1104 (長治 1)	9 / 29	Empress's illness	<i>Shuhō</i>	<i>Denryaku</i>
15.	1106 (嘉承 1)	1 / 23		Transfer of <i>mononoke</i>	<i>Denryaku</i>
16.	1106 (嘉承 1)	9 / 21	Illness	Prayers, <i>godanhō</i> , sutra recitation, divination, transfer of <i>mononoke</i>	<i>Chūyūki</i>
17.	1114 (永久 2)	10 / 29	Fujiwara no Shōshi's illness	<i>Jaki</i> was transferred and	<i>Denryaku</i>

				turned into <i>mononoke</i>	
18.	1118 (元永 1)	8 / 2	Fujiwara no Zenshi	<i>Jaki</i> , esoteric ceremonies, transfer of <i>mononoke</i>	<i>Denryaku</i>
19.	1124 (天治 1)	5 / 28	Royal birth	<i>Mishuhō</i> , <i>kaji</i> , sutra recitation, <i>dhāraṇī</i> , <i>misogi</i> 禊, transfer	<i>Eishōki</i>
20.	1125 (天治 2)	6 / 1	Imperial prince's illness (baby)	Prayers, transfer of <i>mononoke</i>	<i>Osanburuiki</i>
21.	1125 (天治 2)	6 / 1	Imperial prince's illness, seven nights since birth	<i>Kaji</i>	<i>Osanburuiki</i> / <i>Chūyūki</i>
22.	1142 (康治 1)	10 / 26	Attendant attempted suicide, unusual behaviour	Moxibustion	<i>Taiki</i>
23.	1143 (康治 2)	5 / 4	Illness at palace	Secret rituals, transfer	<i>Taiki</i>
24.	1143 (康治 2)	閏 5 / 15	Smallpox epidemic	Expulsion of <i>mononoke</i> , <i>jaki</i>	<i>Taiki</i>
25.	1143 (康治 2)	閏 5 / 22	Illness, Saishōkō 最勝講 (ritual for selecting monks to recite <i>Golden Light Sutra</i>)	Sutra recitation, transfer, omens	<i>Taiki</i>
26.	1157 (保元 2)	1 / 9	Illness	<i>Jaki</i> day before, transfer, prayers	<i>Hyōhanki</i>
27.	1160 (永暦 1)	8 / 19	Empress's illness		<i>Sankaiki</i>
28.	1167 (仁安 2)	2 / 2	Illness	Sutra recitation, expounding of law	<i>Hyōhanki</i>
29.	1178 (治承 2)	6 / 11	Empress, Taira no Tokushi's pregnancy, troubled by <i>mononoke</i>	Transfer	<i>Sankaiki</i> / <i>Osanburuiki</i>
30.	1178 (治承 2)	10 / 21	Empress unwell	Transfer, <i>harae</i> , <i>misogi</i>	<i>Osanburuiki</i>
31.	1178 (治承 2)	10 / 22	Empress's illness	Divination, transfer, <i>ōharae</i> , offerings, <i>onmyōji harae</i>	<i>Sankaiki</i>
32.	1178 (治承 2)	10 / 27	Empress unwell, childbirth	Fudō, prayers, offerings, <i>mishuhō</i>	<i>Osanburuiki</i>
33.	1178 (治承 2)	11 / 2	Approaching childbirth	<i>Ōharae</i> , transfer, <i>Kujaku Sutra</i> ,	<i>Sankaiki</i>

				<i>kaji, kami</i> matters	
34.	1178 (治承 2)	11 / 12	Childbirth	Ceremonies; attempt to expel <i>mononoke</i>	<i>Sankaiki</i>
35.	1192 (建久 3)	4 / 15	Illness at palace	Transfer	<i>Meigetsuki</i>

Mokke 物怪

No.	Year	Month/Day	Context	Other Terms	Source
1.	830 (天長 7)	閏 12	Sutra recitation because of <i>mokke</i>		<i>Shoku Nihon kōki</i>
2.	841 (承和 8)	5 / 3	<i>Mokke</i> due to <i>tatari</i> of imperial tomb	<i>Tatari</i>	<i>Shoku Nihon kōki</i>
3.	842 (承和 9)	5 / 27	<i>Mokke</i> predicated epidemics	Ekijin	<i>Shoku Nihon kōki</i>
4.	860 (貞観 2)	20 / 1	<i>Kami</i> displeased		<i>Ruiju sandaikaku</i>
5.	925 (延長 3)	6 / 12	<i>Mokke</i> and frequent dreams	Recitation of <i>Diamond Sutra</i>	<i>Teishinkōki</i>
6.	931 (承平 1)	9 / 12	<i>Kegare</i> because a dog died	Temporary offerings	<i>Teishinkōki</i>
7.	933 (承平 3)	7 / 24	Because hall hadn't been honoured		<i>Saikyūki</i>
8.	937 (承平 7)	12 / 11	At Empress's residence	<i>Kami</i> matters, temporary offerings	<i>Saikyūki</i>
9.	938 (天慶 1)	1 / 26	Strange occurrence	<i>Shuhō</i> with fourteen monks	<i>Teishinkōki</i>
10.	945 (天慶 8)	11 / 4	Strange event in sky and mononoke	<i>Mishuhō</i> at Enryakuji, sutra recitation	<i>Teishinkōki</i>
11.	946 (天慶 9)	6 / 2	<i>Mokke</i> at shrine	Offerings to Ise and various shrines	<i>Teishinkōki</i>
12.	947 (天曆 1)	6 / 29		Sutra recitation at palace and various shrines	<i>Teishinkōki</i>
13.	950 (天曆 4)	6 / 10	Manifested themselves to the Empress (Fujiwara no Onshi)	Ceremonies and prayers	<i>Osanburuiki</i>
14.	950 (天曆 4)	8 / 8	Get rid of dreams and <i>mokke</i>	Tendai ceremony to prolong life	<i>Osanburuiki</i>
15.	962 (応和 2)	6 / 18	Recitation of <i>Ninnōkyō</i> to remove influence	<i>Lotus Sutra</i> lectures, report to the deities	<i>Sandai gyoki</i> (Murakami)
16.	967 (康保 4)	3 / 20	Manifested itself to Motokata	Investigative report; bestow ordination	<i>Sandai gyoki</i> (Murakami)
17.	967 (康保 4)	5 / 2	<i>Mokke</i> of earthquake	Twenty monks read <i>Kujaku Sutra</i>	<i>Sandai gyoki</i> (Murakami)

18.	987 (永延 1)	3 / 29	Strong wind and rain during banquet		<i>Shōyūki</i>
19.	989 (永祚 1)	7 / 28	Because of <i>mokke</i> dreams are unpleasant	Fudō <i>chōbuku</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
20.	999 (長保 1)	8 / 29	Strange appearance of bird at Daijōkan	Divination	<i>Shōyūki</i>
21.	1000 (長保 2)	8 / 19	Appearance of a rat at lodgings	Report: there could be illness and quarrels	<i>Gonki</i>
22.	1010 (寛弘 7)	8 / 24 + 26	<i>Mokke</i> at Tōmine Shrine, cow at court ladies' residence, investigation	Divination, <i>mono imi</i>	<i>Mido Kanpakuki</i>
23.	1012 (長和 1)	6 / 8	Wild boar at Hie shrine		<i>Shōyūki</i>
24.	1014 (長和 3)	3 / 15	<i>Mokke</i>	Michinaga has <i>Ninnōkyō</i> recited to remove the influence	<i>Shōyūki</i>
25.	1015 (長和 4)	9 / 16	Bird entered into building at Daijōkan	Divination, there could be illnesses	<i>Shōyūki</i>
26.	1017 (寛仁 1)	2 / 13	Strange event in the sky		<i>Mido Kanpakuki</i>
27.	1020 (寛仁 4)	12 / 18	Sutras recitation to prevent calamities and prolong life		<i>Shōyūki</i>
28.	1040 (長久 1)	8 / 10	Typhoon destroyed buildings at Toyouke's Shrine (Ise)	Jingikan divination	<i>Shunki</i>
29.	1095 (嘉保 2)	8 / 10	Big earthquake	Divination, <i>harae</i>	<i>Chūyūki</i>
30.	1095 (嘉保 2)	9 / 5	Lack of faith in the deities, red snake appears as sign		<i>Chūyūki</i>
31.	1167 (仁安 2)	7 / 10	Precedent from Jōgan era, earthquake	Sutra recitation, offerings, reconstruction	<i>Sankaiki</i>

Tatari 祟

No.	Year	Month/Day	Context	Other Terms	Source
1.	919 (延喜 19)	6 / 29	No rain	Prayers	<i>Teishinkōki</i>
2.	919 (延喜 19)	11 / 9	Illness because of <i>tatari</i> of hall	Remove it in palace	<i>Teishinkōki</i>
3.	926 (延長 4)	8 / 5	Heavy rain	Sutra recitation, divinations	<i>Teishinkōki</i>
4.	926 (延長 4)	8 / 26	<i>Tatari</i> spirit, (Uozumi <i>kami</i>)	Sutras at five temples	<i>Teishinkōki</i>
5.	931 (承平 1)	5 / 7	Heavy rain, <i>kami</i> in south-western direction and kegare	Divination	<i>Teishinkōki</i>
6.	945 (天慶 8)	7 / 2	Heavy rain	Divinations	<i>Teishinkōki</i>
7.	946 (天慶 9)	6 / 14	Heavy rain caused by <i>kami</i>	<i>Mishuhō</i> , sutra recitation, divination	<i>Teishinkōki</i>
8.	946 (天慶 9)	7 / 16	At Ise	Prayers, divination	<i>Teishinkōki</i>
9.	947 (天曆 1)		Impurity causes <i>tatari</i>	Impurity	<i>Hōsō ruirin</i>
10.	948 (天曆 2)	9 / 20	Heavy rain, from north-eastern direction, impure <i>ki</i>	Divination	<i>Kyūreki</i>
11.	949 (天曆 3)	11 / 26	Illness	Divination	<i>Kyūreki</i>
12.	953 (天曆 7)	2 / 13	Fire	Divination reports, <i>ōharae</i> , <i>onryō</i>	<i>Sandai gyoki</i> (Murakami)
13.	954 (天曆 8)	5 / 1	Drought	Divination, offerings to Kibune, sutra recitation, prayers for rain	<i>Sandai gyoki</i> (Murakami)
14.	955 (天曆 9)	5 / 13	No rain	Divination, <i>kami</i> might be causing it	<i>Sandai gyoki</i> (Murakami)
15.	955 (天曆 9)	11 / 17	At Ise Shrine		<i>Sandai gyoki</i> (Murakami)
16.	955 (天曆 9)	12 / 1	At Ise, caused by Amaterasu	Onmyōryō and Jinigkan divination	<i>Sandai gyoki</i> (Murakami)
17.	961 (応和 1)	6 / 21	Drought	Divination, sutra recitation, prayers	<i>Sandai gyoki</i> (Murakami)
18.	961 (応和 1)	7 / 23	Strange weather	<i>Mono no tatari</i>	<i>Sandai gyoki</i> (Murakami)
19.	963 (応和 3)	7 / 5	Drought, caused by heavenly <i>kami</i> , spirit of calamity	Divination reports, sutra recitation at	<i>Sandai gyoki</i> (Murakami)

				Todaiji, prayers at seven temples,	
20.	984 (永観 2)	11 / 7	Heavy rain	Divination, festivals	<i>Shōyūki</i>
21.	989 (永祚 1)	5 / 7	Michinaga's illness	Divination	<i>Shōyūki</i>
22.	990 (正暦 1)	7 / 8	Child's illness (prince/princess), more than one <i>tatari</i>	<i>Kikisai</i> 鬼気祭, divination, <i>kaji</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
23.	998 (長徳 4)	7 / 2	Epidemic	<i>Ōharae</i> , offerings	<i>Gonki</i>
24.	999 (長保 1)	7 / 11	<i>Tatari</i> illness, Empress Dowager	Precedent	<i>Shōyūki</i>
25.	999 (長保 1)	11 / 13	Illness, temple visit		<i>Gonki</i>
26.	999 (長保 1)	12 / 9	Emperor Ichijo's problem with eyes, Bodhisattva Myōken, damage to hall	Repairs, <i>kegaré</i>	<i>Gonki</i>
27.	1000 (長保 2)	1 / 28	<i>Kami</i> not worshiped properly, strange occurrences	Divination, ceremonies at Ōharano	<i>Gonki</i>
28.	1000 (長保 2)	6 / 20	Epidemic, <i>tatari</i> <i>kami</i>	Yellow dragon, fear	<i>Gonki</i>
29.	1005 (寛弘 2)	1 / 16	Damage at Anrakuji, because of Usa shrine?	Enquiry, precedents	<i>Shōyūki</i>
30.	1005 (寛弘 2)	11 / 22	Fire at palace	Offerings	<i>Shōyūki</i>
31.	1010 (寛弘 7)	9 / 15	Heavy rain, <i>kegaré</i> , great <i>kami</i> in south- western direction, Ōharano	Divination, <i>ōharae</i>	<i>Mido</i> <i>Kanpakuki</i>
32.	1010 (寛弘 7)	12 / 7	<i>Kami</i> matters impure in south- eastern and south-western directions	Divination	<i>Gonki</i>
33.	1012 (長和 1)	6 / 4	Michinaga's illness due to Hie, dreams due to Sannō's 山王 <i>tatari</i>	Jaki, mishuho	<i>Shōyūki</i>
34.	1012 (長和 1)	10 / 18	Fire	Divination	<i>Midō</i> <i>Kanpakuki</i>
35.	1013 (長和 2)	2 / 5	Damage to Usa Shrine	Offerings, <i>kegaré</i> , divination	<i>Shōyūki</i>

36.	1013 (長和 2)	4 / 11	Illness, deity of hearth (<i>kamadogami</i>)	Removal	<i>Mido Kanpakuki</i>
37.	1013 (長和 2)	5 / 25	Illness of Empress Dowager, great <i>kami</i>	Offerings, <i>mishuhō</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
38.	1013 (長和 2)	6 / 8	Water entered deity of the hearth's room, illness	Divination, repairs, (<i>misogi</i> on eleventh)	<i>Midō Kanpakuki</i>
39.	1013 (長和 2)	8 / 25	Child is ill, unexceptional <i>tatari</i>	Divinations	<i>Shōyūki</i>
40.	1014 (長和 3)	3 / 24	Illness, Dokujin and deity of the hearth	Divination	<i>Shōyūki</i>
41.	1014 (長和 3)	4 / 14	Michinaga's illness, could be due to <i>tatari</i>		<i>Shōyūki</i>
42.	1015 (長和 4)	5 / 27	Sanjō Tennō's eye ailment, Shōten had been neglected	<i>Chōbuku</i> , apologyetic service	<i>Shōyūki</i>
43.	1015 (長和 4)	6 / 19	Epidemic, <i>tatari</i> due to <i>jaki</i> and Ekiki 疫鬼	Divination, <i>mono imi</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
44.	1015 (長和 4)	6 / 19	Commentary: fear of <i>tatari</i> of <i>onryō</i> (<i>jaki</i>)	Bestow posthumous rank	<i>Mido Kanpakuki</i>
45.	1015 (長和 4)	7 / 13	Sanehira's illness not <i>jaki</i> , but <i>tatari</i> , unclear whether it is <i>ki</i> of epidemics or <i>ki</i> of spirits	Divination	<i>Shōyūki</i>
46.	1015 (長和 4)	7 / 23	Empress Dowager's illness, <i>jaki</i> increases <i>tatari</i>		<i>Shōyūki</i>
47.	1017 (寛仁 1)	7 / 1	Heavy rain	Divination	<i>Sakeiki</i>
48.	1018 (寛仁 2)	6 / 24	Illness, Kibune shrine	Divine response. Prayers, offerings	<i>Shōyūki</i>
49.	1027 (万寿 4)	6 / 5	Minamoto no Toshikata's illness	<i>Mono no tatari</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
50.	1028 (長元 1)	7 / 28	Kanpaku's (Yorimichi) illness, <i>mono tatari</i>	<i>Jaki, mishuhō</i> for twenty-seven days	<i>Shōyūki</i>
51.	1028 (長元 1)	9 / 28	Middle general's illness, deity of the hearth	<i>Jaki</i> , divination	<i>Shōyūki</i>
52.	1031 (長元 4)	9 / 17	Impurity	Worship, <i>harae</i>	<i>Sakeiki</i>

53.	1032 (長元 5)	6 / 19	Drought	Divinations	<i>Sakeiki</i>
54.	1035 (長元 8)	4 / 25	Illness	Divination, dream, <i>harae</i>	<i>Sakeiki</i>
55.	1038 (長暦 2)	9 / 9	Heavy rain	Prayers	<i>Shunki</i>
56.	1038 (長暦 2)	9 / 10	Heavy rain, death of cow at palace	<i>Kami</i> , ritual, <i>kegare</i>	<i>Shunki</i>
57.	1038 (長暦 2)	9 / 16	Death of cow, <i>kami</i> worship differed from precedent	Prayers	<i>Shunki</i>
58.	1038 (長暦 2)	9 / 19+20	<i>Kami</i> in south-eastern direction, rain, impurity	Offerings, worship	<i>Shunki</i>
59.	1039 (長暦 3)	10 / 3	Child's illness (prince or princess), <i>kami no ki</i>	Divination	<i>Shunki</i>
60.	1040 (長久 1)	9 / 20	Fire at palace, emperor's illness, Ise, <i>kami</i> in south-eastern direction	Offerings, divination	
61.	1040 (長久 1)	9 / 21	Fire at palace, <i>kegare</i> , illness	Offerings, divination, worship, <i>jaki</i>	<i>Shunki</i>
62.	1052 (永承 7)	5 / 12	Strange event at Usa	Divination in corridor	<i>Shunki</i>
63.	1077 (承保 4)	8 / 26	Illness	Sutra recitation, prayers, offerings, <i>kikisai</i>	<i>Suisaki</i>
64.	1077 (承保 4)	9 / 2+3	Imperial prince's illness, Gion and Kibune	<i>Jaki</i> , <i>mono imi</i> , sutra readings, <i>harae</i> , precedents, <i>yumesai</i> 夢祭, offerings	<i>Suisaki</i>
65.	1077 (承保 4)	9 / 4-6	Epidemic, Ekijin	<i>Kikisai</i>	<i>Suisaki</i>
66.	1080 (正暦 4)	閏 8 / 18	Child's illness, <i>jaki</i> causing <i>tatari</i>	Divination	<i>Suisaki</i>
67.	1080 (正暦 4)	11 / 1	Emperor's illness, solar eclipse, demon spirits	Divination, <i>kikisai</i> , worship of directions by reciting <i>Nirvana sutra</i>	<i>Suisaki</i>
68.	1081 (正暦 5)	3 / 13	Issue at Tōnomine	Divination, offerings	<i>Suisaki</i>
69.	1081 (正暦 5)	8 / 13	Emperor's illness	<i>Jaki</i> , <i>onmyō</i> divination	<i>Suisaki</i>
70.	1081 (正暦 5)	9 / 25+28	Smallpox, Dokujin, deities in north-western	<i>Jaki</i> , divination	<i>Suisaki</i>

			and north-eastern directions		
71.	1084 (応徳 1)		Imperial palace's neglect of ritual duties		<i>Heian Ibun</i>
72.	1094 (嘉保 1)	11 / 11	Move deity of the hearth, precedents	Divination, <i>harae, misogi</i>	<i>Chūyūki</i>
73.	1095 (嘉保 2)	9 / 21	Emperor's illness	Divination, sutra recitation, prayers, emergency pardon	<i>Chūyūki</i>
74.	1096 (永長 1)	7 / 5	Drought, six shrines, deities of directions	Prayers at Enshō and Kibune, divination corridor palace	<i>Chūyūki</i>
75.	1096 (永長 1)	7 / 29	Illness of imperial princess, demon spirits, impure <i>kami</i> matters	Divination in corridor palace, prayers	<i>Chūyūki</i>
76.	1097 (正徳 1)	8 / 16	Meeting at Iwashimizu, impure <i>kami</i> matters	Divination in corridor	<i>Chūyūki</i>
77.	1103 (康和 5)	11 / 3	Flood caused by various shrines		<i>Chūyūki</i>
78.	1103 (康和 5)	11 / 7	Flood	Offerings to five shrines	<i>Chūyūki</i>
79.	1104 (長治 1)	7 / 18	Imperial princess not visiting shrine	Enquiry, divination, impure <i>kami</i> matters	<i>Chūyūki</i>
80.	1105 (長治 2)	8 / 2	Damage at Toyouke, illness, <i>kami</i> of north-east	Divinations, demon spirits, repairs	<i>Chūyūki</i>
81.	1105 (長治 2)	8 / 8+13	Emperor's illness	Offerings, sutra recitation, <i>mishuhō</i> , divination	<i>Chūyūki</i>
82.	1106 (嘉承 1)	2 / 19	Imperial prince's death, tomb of ancestors, illness	Prayers, apologies, offerings	<i>Chūyūki</i>
83.	1106 (嘉承 1)	3 / 13	Treasure hall of shrine caught fire, <i>ki</i> of the dead	<i>Kegare, misogi</i> , divination, offerings	<i>Eishōki</i>
84.	1106 (嘉承 1)	4 / 13	Fire at Kamo, impurity	Detailed divinations, <i>kegare</i> , offerings	<i>Eishōki</i>
85.	1106 (嘉承 1)	10 / 3	Emperor's illness, shrine is causing it	Offerings	<i>Chūyūki</i>

86.	1109 (天仁 2)	8 / 8	Heavy rain, <i>ki</i> of shrine	Ceremonies, divination, prayers	<i>Denryaku</i>
87.	1113 (永久 1)	9 / 5	Illness, <i>tatari</i> of shrine	Divination, offerings	<i>Denryaku</i>
88.	1133 (長承 2)	9 / 5	Illness, epidemic, Tenji's imperial tomb, mountains	Taizan Fukunsai (on fourth), turning of sutras, apologies	<i>Chōshūki</i>
89.	1133 (長承 2)	9 / 12	Long spell of heavy rain	Divination in corridor, Kujaku 孔雀, <i>mishuhō</i> , <i>goma</i> ritual 護摩法 (a few days later)	<i>Chōshūki</i>
90.	1134 (長承 3)	5 / 1	Illness	Offerings, prayers, <i>mishuhō</i> for six Kannon, rite for seven stars of Northern Dipper	<i>Chōshūki</i>
91.	1135 (保延 1)	4	Long spell of rain, <i>kami</i> 's omen, impurity	Divinations	<i>Chōshūki</i>
92.	1153 (仁平 3)	7	<i>Kegare</i> , <i>kami</i> matters impure		<i>Hyōhanki</i>
93.	1155 (久寿 2)	12 / 17	Illness at court ladies`	Oracle	<i>Hyōhanki</i>
94.	1167 (仁安 2)	10 / 6	Gojōden destroyed by fire, <i>kami</i> matters differed from precedent	Divination in corridor, <i>onmyō</i> and <i>jingi</i>	<i>Hyōhanki</i>
95.	1167 (仁安 2)	10 / 9	Fire predicated <i>tatari</i> but also <i>kegare</i>	<i>Kegare</i>	<i>Hyōhanki</i>
96.	1168 (仁安 3)	6 / 4	Damage at Toyouke shrine, snake, impurity	Divination reports	<i>Hyōhanki</i>
97.	1168 (仁安 3)	12 / 29	Fire at Ise, impurity in <i>kami</i> matters, <i>kegare</i>	Divinations	<i>Hyōhanki</i>
98.	1168 (仁安 3)	7 / 25	Incident of fight at Kamo, <i>kegare</i> , impurity, damage	<i>Harae</i> , <i>nenbutsu</i> , imperial decree, sacrifices	<i>Hyōhanki</i>
99.	1169 (仁安 4)	1 / 8	Earthquake in last twelfth month, south-western direction	Offerings, <i>harae</i> , <i>kaji</i> , etc., apologies, worship	<i>Hyōhanki</i>
100.	1169 (仁安 4)	1 / 25	Emperor's report, strange things,	Offerings of gold and silver	<i>Hyōhanki</i>

			shrines in south-east and -west		
101.	1178 (治承 2)	10 / 21	Empress`s pregnancy, address to the gods	<i>Onryō, jaki,</i> various rituals	<i>Sankaiki/ Osanburuiki</i>
102.	1178 (治承 2)	11 / 12	Empress about to give birth, deities of north-west and -east	Various rituals and ceremonies, <i>kaji, godanhō, goma,</i> sutra readings, etc.	<i>Sankaiki</i>

Associated Terms:

Onryō 怨霊

No.	Year	Month/Day	Context	Other Terms	Source
1.	925 (延長 3)	5 / 10	<i>Onryō</i> in house	Build stupa, sutra readings and copying	<i>Teishinkōki</i>
2.	953 (天曆 7)	2 / 13	Fire at Jingikan	<i>Tatari</i> , divination, <i>kegare</i>	<i>Sandai gyoki</i> (Murakami)
3.	1015 (長和 4)	5 / 22	To do with Tendai Zasu's complaints Gashō's spirit	Bestow posthumous rank, <i>jaki</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
4.	1015 (長和 4)	6 / 19	Posthumous rank because of fear of <i>onryō</i>	<i>Tatari</i> of <i>onryō</i>	<i>Midō Kanpakuki</i>
5.	1026 (万寿 3)	10 / 10	Miraculous efficacy, impurity	<i>Chōbuku</i> , sutra recitations, enshrinement of various buddhas	<i>Sakeiki</i>
6.	1178 (治承 2)	10 / 21	Address to the gods	<i>Jaki</i> , <i>tatari</i>	<i>Sankaiki/Osanburiiki</i>

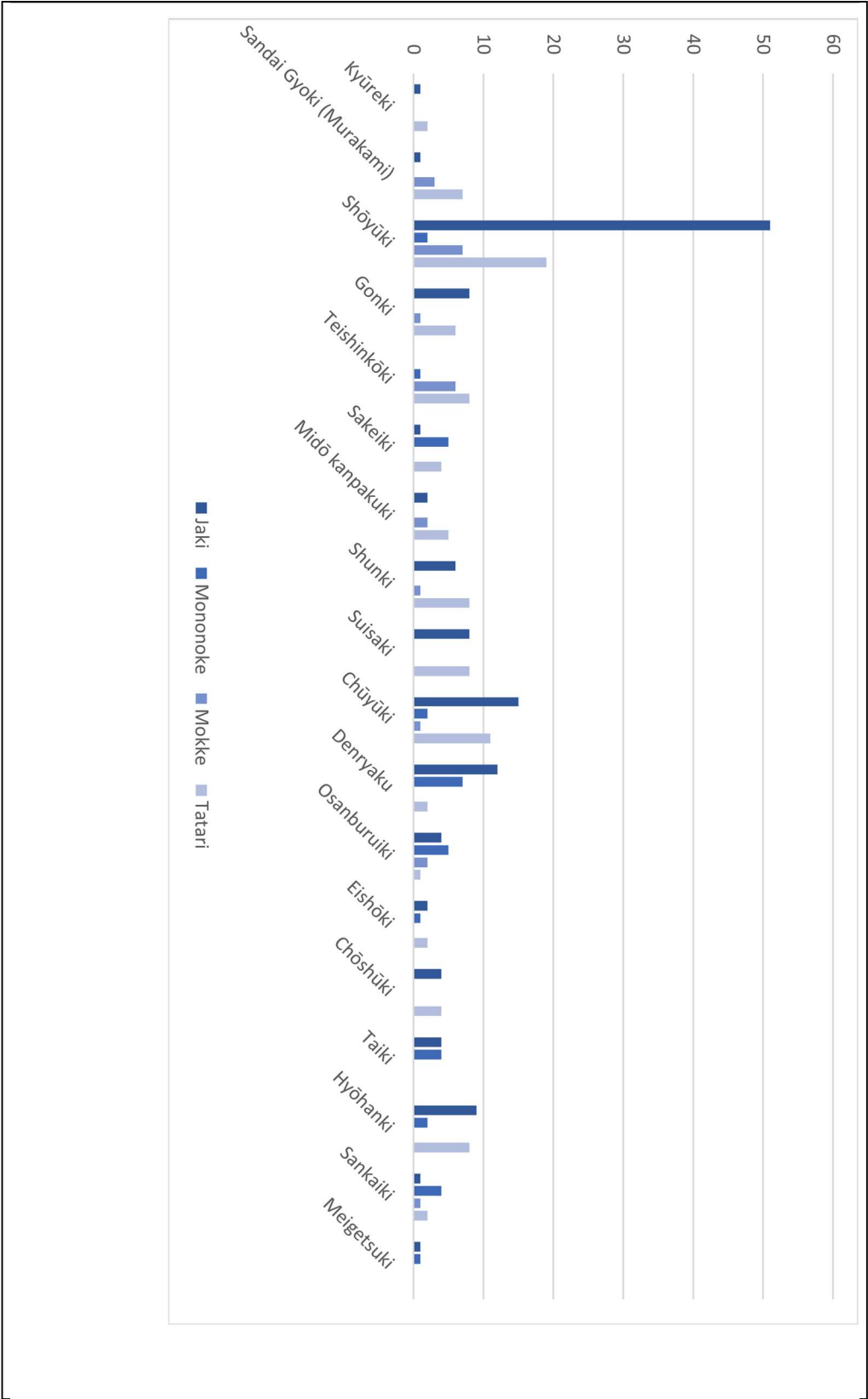
Reiki 靈氣

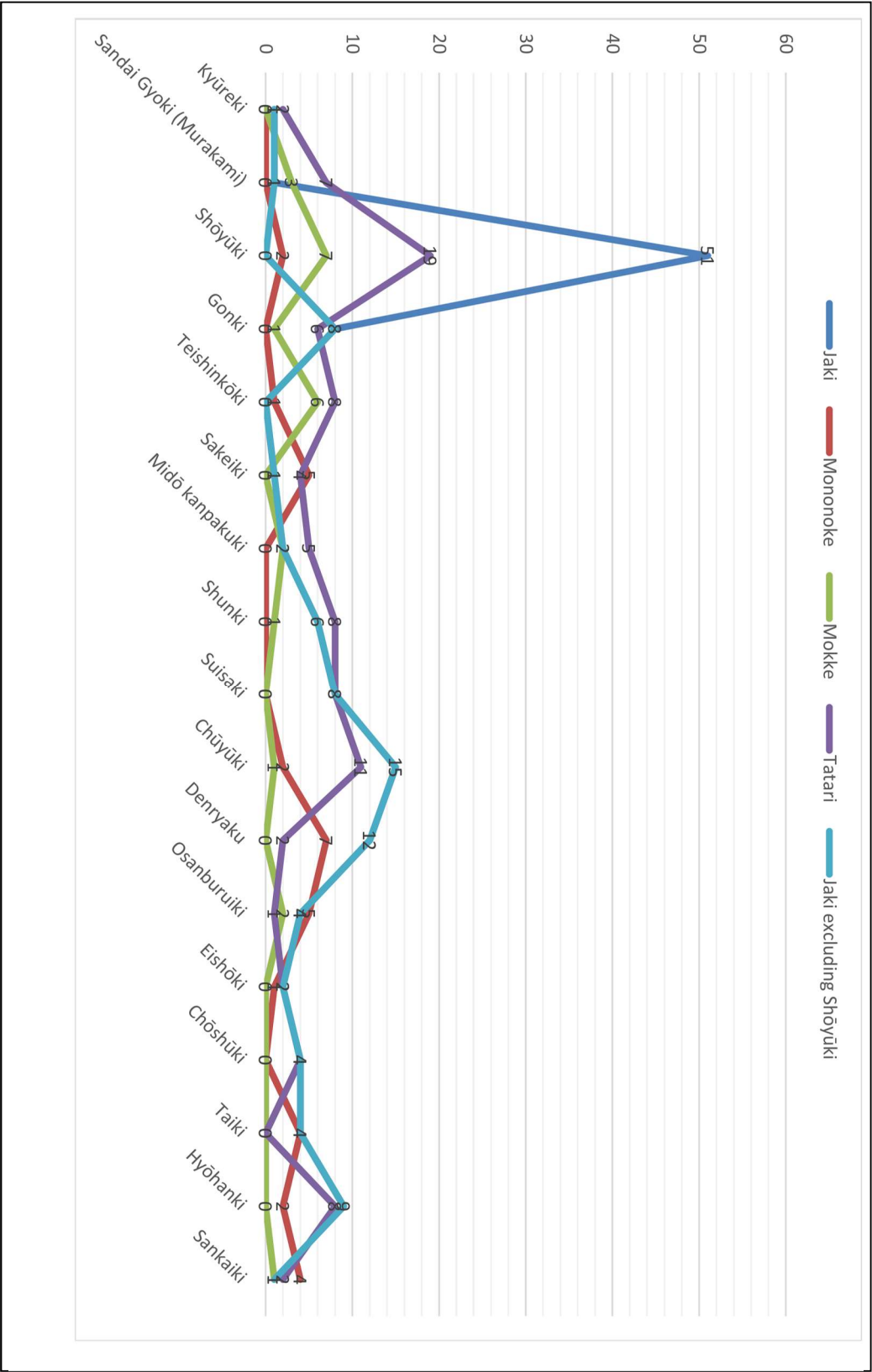
No.	Year	Month/Day	Context	Other Terms	Source
1.	990 (正暦 1)	7 / 10	Child's illness	<i>Tatari, kaji</i> , transfer, <i>kikisai</i> , <i>chōkonsai</i> , Enmaten 閻魔天, <i>sutra</i> recitation	<i>Shōyūki</i>
2.	1000 (長保 2)	5 / 25	Illness, resentment	<i>Jarei</i>	<i>Gonki</i>
3.	1000 (長保 2)	12 / 16	Illness, court lady's madness, spirits of Kanpaku and Nijō minister	<i>Jarei, rei, mishuhō, chōbuku</i>	<i>Gonki</i>
4.	1015 (長和 4)	7 / 13	Illness not <i>jaki</i> , various <i>ki</i> , epidemic	<i>Tatari, jaki</i> , divination	<i>Shōyūki</i>
5.	1015 (長和 4)	12 / 13	Yorimichi's illness	<i>Chōbuku</i> , transfer, <i>jaki</i> day before	<i>Shōyūki</i>
6.	1018 (寛仁 2)	閏 4 / 24	Illness of chest	<i>Kaji</i> , transfer	<i>Shōyūki</i>
7.	1019 (寛仁 3)	6 / 3	Michinaga's illness	Exposed, <i>chōbuku</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
8.	1022 (治安 2)	5 / 30	Illness	<i>Yorimashi</i> transfer, <i>jaki</i>	<i>Shōyūki</i>
9.	1025 (万寿 2)	7 / 8	Illness at Ichijō		<i>Sakeiki</i>
10.	1025 (万寿 2)	8 / 5	Situation of monastic and lay women and men, doubts, place of spirits, childbirth, illness	<i>Jaki, kaji</i>	<i>Sakeiki</i>
11.	1026 (万寿 3)	閏 5 / 4	Illness	Ritual for Five Wisdom kings, prayers	<i>Sakeiki</i>
12.	1031 (長元 4)	8 / 3	Mother's illness	Transfer, <i>ki</i> of illness	<i>Shōyūki</i>
13.	1031 (長元 4)	9 / 26	Two daughters ill, <i>kami</i> and spirits	<i>Tatari</i> , prayers	<i>Shōyūki</i>
14.	1033 (長元 6)	4 / 3	Death of gate keeper		<i>Sakeiki</i>

Kirei 鬼霊

No.	Year	Month/Day	Context	Other Terms	Source
1.	1080 (正暦 4)	11 / 1	Illness, evil holds body	<i>Tatari</i> , divination, <i>kikisai</i>	<i>Suisaki</i>
2.	1096 (永長 1)	7 / 29	Imperial princess's illness, <i>kami</i> matters impure	Divination, <i>tatari</i> , prayers	<i>Chūyūki</i>
3.	1105 (長治 2)	7 / 29	Emperor's illness	<i>Jaki</i> , divination	<i>Denryaku</i>
4.	1105 (長治 2)	8 / 1	Emperor's illness	Divination, deity of the hearth	<i>Denryaku</i>
5.	1105 (長治 2)	8 / 2	Tree fell at Toyouke's Shrine, damage, emperor's illness	<i>Tatari</i> , divinations, sutra recitation	<i>Chūyūki</i>

Appendix 2: Use of the keywords over time





Appendix 3: Overview of primary sources used

Diaries

Kyūreki 九曆 – Fujiwara no Morosuke (908-960)

Tenryaku gyoki 天曆御記 in *Sandai gyoki* 三代御記 – Murakami Tennō (926-967)

Shōyūki 小右記 – Fujiwara no Sanesuke (957-1046)

Gonki 権記 – Fujiwara no Yukinari (972-1027)

Teishinkōki 貞信公記 – Fujiwara no Tadahira (880-949)

Sakeiki 左経記 – Minamoto no Tsuneyori (976-1039)

Midō kanpakuki 御堂関白記 – Fujiwara no Michinaga (966-1027)

Shunki 春記 – Fujiwara no Sukefusa (1007-1057)

Suisaki 水左記 – Minamoto no Toshifusa (1035-1121)

Chūyūki 中右記 – Fujiwara no Munetada (1087-1138)

Denryaku 殿曆 – Fujiwara no Tadazane (1078-1162)

Osanburuiki 御産部類記

Eishōki 永昌記 – Fujiwara no Tametaka (1070-1130)

Chōshūki 長秋記 – Minamoto no Morotoki (1077-1136)

Taiki 台記 – Fujiwara no Yoronaga (1120-1156)

Hyōhanki 兵範記 – Taira no Nobunori (1112-1187)

Sankaiki 山槐記 – Nakayama no Tadachika (1131-1195)

Meigetsuki 明月記 – Fujiwara no Sadaie (1162-1241)

Histories and Compilations

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Gunsho Ruijū 群書類從

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Nihon kiryaku 日本紀略 (vol. 11)

Hyakurenschō 百鍊抄 (vol. 11)

Fusō ryakki 扶桑略記 (vol. 12)

Teiō hennenki 帝王編年記 (vol. 12)

Ruijū sandaikaku 類聚三代格 (vol. 25)

Hōsō ruirin 法曹類林 (vol. 27)

Ruijūfu senshō 類聚符宣抄 (vol. 27)

Chōya gunsai 朝野群載 (vol. 29)

Honchō monzui 本朝文粹 (vol. 29)

Taishō shinshū daizōkyō 大正新脩大藏經

Dictionaries

Wamyō ruijūshō 和名類聚抄 – Minamoto no Shitagō (911-983)

Appendix 4: List of examples used

Chapter 2

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3. **1178/10/21** *Sankaiki*: prayers for safe delivery of imperial prince Tokihito (*jaki*)
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94. **1022/02/19** *Iwashi Tanaka*: Implied lack of virtue of the ruler
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Appendix 5: Detailed settings for specific examples (Chapter 2)

1. 1015/05/27 *Shōyūki*:

On the twenty-seventh day, an emergency pardon was issued, which, as the *Fusō ryakki* informs us, was actually decreed on the twenty-sixth because of the *tennō*'s illness.⁴ The Tendai monk Shinyo (971-1029)⁵ was summoned because the emperor could not see anything and *kaji* was performed, which refers to a ritual stemming from the esoteric Buddhist tradition that, based on the mutual empowerment taking place between the practitioner and the Buddha, was utilised as a healing technique.⁶ The ritual uncovered the presence of the deity Shōten (Gaṇeśa, also Kangiten in Japanese), who conveyed the following message through a medium: "The *jaki* can be exorcised. There have been sutra recitations and offerings, but only Shōten's services have been neglected, which is what has caused *tatari*. There should be an apology and proper services, then he might recover." The passage further reveals that Shōten was enshrined in the previous year and still no services had been performed for him.

Emperor Sanjō's deteriorating eyesight is famously dealt with in a variety of Heian-period sources. Most notably perhaps in the *Ōkagami*, where it is explained that he can only see vague outlines generally and rarely a bit more, which is due to a meta-physical entity sitting on his head and spreading its wings every so often.⁷

心營令奉御加持、聖天顯云、御邪氣能被調伏〔又〕、肴賜贖〔贈〕位、但聖天供事、儲貳之時、嚴教預供、從登極之日、已無供養、因之成祟所奉致也。 (*Shōyūki*, Vol. 4, 43).

⁴ "Fusō ryakki", *Kokushi Taikei*, vol. 9, 270. 五月廿六日。大赦天下。依御藥也。In summary of the whole year, the entry only briefly mentions the *tennō*'s eye condition. 夏月以來。主上御目有恙。

⁵ Shinyo had close ties with Fujiwara no Michinaga and was eventually appointed temple administrator of Hōjōji 法成寺, an institution built by Michinaga in Kyoto, as well as administrator of Onjōji, Enryakuji's rival temple.

⁶ Winfield, "Curing with Kaji: Healing and Esoteric Empowerment in Japan", 108.

⁷ NKBZ, Vol. 20, pp. 68-70 and Yanagiwa, *The Ōkagami: A Japanese Historical Tale*, 38-39. There it is actually referred to as 物怪, which is perhaps a feature of *kana* literature.

2. 1018/04/20 *Shōyūki*:

In 1018, when Michinaga was 53 years old, he had been suffering from an illness affecting his chest throughout the fourth and intercalary fourth months, which is repeatedly referred to as *jaki*. On the twentieth day of the intercalary fourth month, his state had deteriorated, and he was very unwell. He had a fever and could not eat or drink, which is why the Five Altars Ceremony (*godanhō* 五壇法)⁸ and the *shuhō* 修法 were performed. This ritual was thought to drive out the forces responsible for misfortune, and was usually conducted by higher-ranking priests at a temple with a specially designated altar.⁹ In the evening the *jaki* revealed itself through a person and, although no name was given, those present deduced from the way in which it appeared, perhaps through the medium's conduct, that it could be Michikane's spirit, which is referred to in the commentary as an *onryō*.

御病躰似熱氣、飲食不受給、夜部邪氣託人、不稱名、氣色似故二条相府靈、道兼、...。
(*Shōyūki*, Vol. 5, 22).

3. 1178/10/21 *Sankaiki*:

In 1178, two years prior to the onset of the *Genpei* war (1180-1185), which brought the Heian period to an end, Takakura Tennō's (1161-1181) consort, Taira no Tokuko (1155-1214), who was Taira no Kiyomori's (1118-1181) daughter, was carrying his first child. The imperial prince Tokihito 言仁親王, the later Emperor Antoku, did not survive the end of the war due to his descent from

⁸ This ritual constitutes one type of *shuhō* in which five altars were built and ceremonies were performed for each of the Five Wisdom Kings 五大明王. This ritual was performed in order to avoid calamities or exorcise an evil influence and was usually reserved for the *tennō* and matters of national importance.

⁹ Komatsu, Kazuhiko, *Hyōrei shinkōron: Yōkai kenkyū e no kokoromi*, 238. Taniguchi, "Heian kizoku no shippei ninshiki to jiryōhō: Manju ninen no sekihansō ryūkō wo tegakari ni", 73-74. Mitsuhashi, *Heian jidai no shinkō to shūkyō girei*, 348-350.

the Taira clan.¹⁰ An entry from the twenty-first day of the tenth month contains an address to the deities to pray for safe delivery and the help of the deities is sought in order to keep evil influences at bay. A variety of rituals were performed on this day, and, it can be assumed, regularly in the months leading up to the actual day of childbirth itself, which attests to the vast amount of material and human resources set aside for these events and the placation of invisible agents. In this example, it is the *tatari* of the *onryō jaki* that causes concern, as there had been faint traces, and it needed to be convinced to leave in a different direction. On the twelfth day of the next month the imperial prince was born.

縦有怨靈邪氣之祟、拂之未兆、退之他方。(Sankaiki, 150-151).

4. 1015/06/19 *Shōyūki* and *Midō kanpakuki*:

Consider, for example, this entry from the nineteenth day of the sixth month 1015 contained in the *Shōyūki*, which is related to Sanjō Tennō's illness. The emperor was feeling unwell and his attendants suspected that he was suffering from a fever illness, which could be translated as ague or malaria. When enquiring about the appropriate medicine for him, Abe no Yoshihira's (purportedly Abe no Seimei's oldest son) divination reveals a *tatari* of the *jaki* of Ekiki, a deity of pestilence, due to which there would be *mono imi* (a day of taboo that involved abstention)¹¹ on the following days. Due to the sentence structure it is obvious

¹⁰ Sansom, 200-201. We see here the strategic efforts of Taira no Kiyomori to consolidate his position at the court by marrying his daughter to the imperial successor, much like the Fujiwara marriage politics.

¹¹ Yamashita, "The Characteristics of On'yōdō and Related Texts", 82. Sansom, *A History of Japan*, 213. When the emperor was affected by *mono imi*, the *Kinpihō* (a treatise on the practices, customs, and appropriate behaviour at court written by Juntoku Tennō in 1221 based on earlier records) states that he was not allowed to leave his palace and that everything had to be done within his curtains. He was also not allowed to receive any visitors from outside. He was supposed to focus on his worship of the deities and the heavens. Sometimes monks were allowed to perform *kaji*, which implies an indirect association with a harmful meta-physical influence. *Gunsho ruijū*, scroll 467, 雑物 212, (367-418), 407.

<https://japanknowledge-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/lib/display/?lid=91011V260413> Accessed: 2018/07/09

that *tatari* as the cause of the illness was thought to have been due to *jaki*, which seems to be an influence that was being emitted by Ekiki. Furthermore, *mono imi* is mentioned, which evokes a sense of pollution caused by *jaki*. It is difficult to conceive of this sentence as referring to both Ekiki and an evil spirit. However, the *Midō kanpakuki*, Fujiwara no Michinaga's (966-1028) diary, includes an entry for the same date in which the *tennō*'s illness is related to the vengeful spirit of the monk Gashō (887-967), who had been causing much trouble in the preceding months due to his wish to receive the posthumous title of *zasu*.¹²

Kaji was being performed for the illness, but the ritual had to be interrupted temporarily. Since the emperor had been feeling unwell and suffering from a fever and it was feared that it could be due to the *tatari* of Gashō, a decision was made to finally bestow the title on him.¹³ The fact that the title is bestowed on this day is also referenced in the *Shōyūki* and the *Fusō ryakki*.¹⁴ Having this additional information, which was another valid interpretation accepted by the courtiers, *jaki* in the previous example may also refer to Gashō's vengeful spirit, as an enumeration of harmful entities. We must keep in mind however, that in the first example the identification of the harmful influences was based on Abe no Yoshihira's divination, while in the second example only *kaji* is mentioned, which would have been performed by an esoteric Buddhist monk.

吉平（安倍）占申、云、疫鬼御邪氣為出宗〔崇〕者、明日・明々物忌也。 (*Shōyūki*, vol. 4, 41).

¹² *Midō kanpakuki*, 1015, fifth month twenty-second day: The monk Gashō's spirit appears to have possessed an official who was beating a young boy in order to convey his wishes and the reason for his anger, namely that he was not appointed *zasu* during his lifetime (he died shortly after he lost the competition and his younger opponent became *zasu*). By not acknowledging his wish the emperor is creating an *onryō*. He wants to get rid of the evil in his heart and return to Buddhist path. 主上令抱童、靈物忿怒踏打童、藏人親業取離、賀静靈云、先日申可被任座主之由、而當時座主忿氣無極、奉為主上必作怨靈、勝自我歟、至今惡心漸解除。 (vol. 4, 31-32) Ōe, "'Tatari", "onryō", soshite "goryō" – Shinrei wo kataru mono", 79-81.

¹³ 似御惱重、御身有熱氣、暫止加持、故權律師賀静贈僧正、入夜奏宣命草… *Midō kanpakuki*, vol. 3, 13.

¹⁴ *Fusō ryakki*, 271.

5. 1015/12/12 *Eiga monogatari* and *Midō kanpakuki*:

In 1015, when Yorimichi (992-1074), Michinaga's son, was suffering from influenza (*fubyō* 風病),¹⁵ the *onmyōji* Kamo no Mitsuyoshi (939-1015) and Abe no Yoshihira (954-1027) were summoned by Michinaga to perform a divination. The result was indefinite and ascribed to either *mononoke*, *kami no ke*, or a person's curse. They further specified that if it was due to *kami no ke* the *mishuhō* ritual should not be performed, which would have constituted the normal procedure in the case of *mononoke*, but since the cause could not be identified clearly, the *onmyōji* were confronted with a dilemma and could not provide any countermeasures. Only certain ceremonies and purifications were performed.¹⁶ In Michinaga's diary the harmful entity is referred to as *jaki*, while Sanesuke identifies it as the spirit of Fujiwara no Korechika (974-1010), Michinaga's nephew, with whom he had struggled for power and thus frequently blamed for any illnesses and misfortunes.¹⁷ Since both of these authors seem to lean toward *mononoke* as the cause and Michinaga was the one who commissioned the divination, it seems reasonable to conclude that their opinions would have had an impact on its outcome.

賀茂・安倍など召して、物問はせ給ふ。御物のけや、又畏き神の気や、人の呪詛などさまざまに申せば、「神の気とあらば、御修法などあるべきあらず。又御物のけなどあるに、まかせたらんもいと恐ろし」など、さまざまおぼし乱るる程に、ただ御祭・祓などぞ頻りなる。(Eiga monogatari, scroll 12, *tama no muragiku* in *Kokushi taikei*, vol. 20, 280-281).

¹⁵ This type of illness was quite lethal at the time and probably worse than what we associate with a common cold today. Shigeta, *Heian kizoku to onmyōji*, 107-108.

¹⁶ Shigeta, *Heian kizoku to onmyōji*, 128-129. Taniguchi, "Heian kizoku no shippei ninshiki to jiryōhō", 65-67.

¹⁷ *Midō kanpakuki*, 1015, twelfth month, twelfth day: offerings of horses to Hachiman, Kamo, Gion and Kitano and sutra readings. thirteenth day: Illness is identified as *jaki* and prayers are continued. Vol. 3, 36. *Shōyūki*, vol. 4, 107.

6. 1025/08/03 *Shōyūki*:

When Michinaga's daughter Yoshiko (1007-1025), consort to crown prince Atsunaga (later Go-Suzaku Tennō), gave birth to a son on the third day of the eighth month, she was being tormented by *mononoke*, while she was also suffering from smallpox. For this reason, Michinaga insisted on the performance of *kaji* for his daughter and asked Abe no Yoshihira and Kamo no Morimichi (986-1030) for advice on the matter. Yoshihira discouraged the use of *kaji* as a countermeasure while Morimichi recommended the performance of *kaji*. Michinaga disregarded Yoshihira's opinion and summoned the monks for the ritual. However, these monks said it was impossible to perform this ritual because they feared *kami no ke*. Based on his own judgment, Michinaga forced them to comply, while the author comments that in this situation prayers should have been performed for the kami instead of *jaki*. Two days later, on the fifth, Yoshiko died and Michinaga was overcome with despair and deeply regretted his decision.¹⁸

赤班瘡之間有産氣、可有加持哉否事持疑云、仍有被占、吉平云、不宜、守道云、吉也、禪閣存可加持心被勘當吉平、然而諸僧不能加持、依怖神氣云、禪閣先加持、其後諸僧加持、調伏邪氣、禪閣放詞云、加持不快事也、偏祈神明可期平産歟。 (*Shōyūki*, vol. 7, 115).

7. 1125/06/01 *Osanburuiki*, *Hanazono safu ki* and *Chūyūki*:

Three sources, namely the *Osanburuiki*, *Hanazono safu ki* and the *Chūyūki*, recount an incident involving the newly born crown prince, who was just one week old, on the first day of the sixth month in 1125, which attests to the

¹⁸ Shigeta, *Heian kizoku to onmyōji*, 164-165. Taniguchi, "Heian kizoku no shippei ninshiki to jiryōhō", 62-64.

importance of the event. The crown prince, presumably Kimihito 君仁親王 (1125-1143), who was Toba's third son and described as a sickly and weak child, was refusing to drink his milk and the colour of his body was strange. The Tendai Zasu, Ninjitsu (1091-1131), and Daigoji's high priest Shōkaku (1057-1129) were summoned to perform prayers, which did not prove to be efficacious. They then summoned the Tendai monk Gyōson (1055-1135), and variety of rituals were performed as well as sutra recitations. The baby began to suck repeatedly when the *mononoke* was transferred, which attested to Gyōson's ritual efficacy and rewards were given accordingly. The *Chūyūki*¹⁹ presents the information in a slightly different way and includes the information that Gyōson recited a spell of Fudō²⁰ and then ordered *kaji* to be performed. The *mononoke* was suddenly transferred completely and the baby revived somewhat. Gyōson was rewarded generously for his efforts.²¹ The fact that several monks failed at first, points to the notion that the wrong rituals and prayers were being held, and as soon as *kaji* was performed, the evil influence was expelled from the body, implying that the cause was ascertained through ritual efficacy and assigned afterwards.

The text stems from the *Asataka kyōki*, which is included in *Osanburuiki*, 277: 今日今宮御不例、不食御乳、已変御色、諸壇閣梨加祈請、山座主仁実・醍醐権僧正勝覚、雖祈申、其驗未及、召大僧正行尊、令祈申之間、漸涉時刻、可召替他人之由、有本院仰、而行尊申云、年及八十、初不可見仏法之恥、何有面目、可罷起哉、其後無倫言、左右之間、重誦千寿經、令青申之處、頻有御呬、被遷物氣、次御色忽直、令復尋常給了。

¹⁹ The *Chūyūki* is the diary of Fujiwara no Munetada (1087-1138), who was Minister of the Right and a courtier of the first rank.

²⁰ Fudō as the central deity of the Five Wisdom Kings was regarded as an emanation of the fierce aspect of Dainichi Nyorai and as his emissary. For more information see Duquenne, "Fudō-Myōō", 19-22.

²¹ The text is also included in the *Osanburuiki*, 262: 御身色令変給也、而大僧正（行尊）念不動呪令加持、俄御物氣渡。These quotations attest to the unreliability of the primary source material and that no account will ever present a complete view of an event, since information was omitted based on what the author thought was important and the author's beliefs about the world. Thus, all examples must be approached with caution.

8. 1026/intc. 05/04 *Sakeiki*:

In an earlier example from the eleventh century, *mononoke* appeared alongside other meta-physical entities that would be categorised as deities. It appears that Emperor Go-Ichijō (1008-1036) was feeling unwell, which was related to the *ki* of a *goryō*²² on the fourth day of the intercalary fifth month, 1026. Generalised countermeasures were performed such as the ritual for the Five Wisdom Kings 五大尊法 and various prayers, which does not suggest the presence of a spirit, but rather a deified entity, although it could also mean that the cause was still unclear, and a safe variety of measures were undertaken. However, on the ninth day, his condition has not improved and the entry states that *on mononoke*, as well as Shōten (Gaṇeśa) and the deity of Kisei shrine²³ manifested themselves through *chōbuku*, a form of exorcism. *Mononoke* is set apart syntactically from the other meta-physical entities that constitute deities through “and/together with” 并, which creates two groups. The next day, the *mishuhō* of the five altars is performed for the Five Wisdom Kings and a Fudō *chōbuku*,²⁴ as well as continuous recitations of the Lotus and Great Wisdom Sutras, a “Seven Shoals *ōharae*”, and various other rituals, which attest to the threat such events

²² I would like to point out that while *goryō* is a well-established term, this expression might also be read or understood as *on mononoke* due to the origin of *rei* 霊, which was also read as *mono*. Similarly, *reiki* is usually taken to be roughly synonymous with *mononoke*. See Taniguchi, “Heian kizoku no shippei ninshiki to jiryōhō”, 70; Ueno, *Yuem to mononoke no seishinshi*, 125; Mori, “Mononoke, Mononosatoshi, Mokke, Kaii”, 78. *Reiki* also constituted a term in Chinese philosophy, namely, *ling qi* as the material and immaterial aspect of all things. See Ommerborn, “Begriffe in der chinesischen Geistesgeschichte”, 106. The expression *onmononoke* 御物氣 appears frequently in writing. It seems reasonable to assume that this secondary reading may constitute a latent meaning in this example.

²³ A search for the term Kisei does not yield many results, although Morohashi defines it as an attachment to life, see *Dai kanwa jiten*, 729. However, an entry in the *Denryaku* from 1112 includes a note for the term which indicates that the proper character should be 布 instead of 生. The term then becomes Kibune, which is a shrine that appears quite prominently in relation to the types of meta-physical beliefs represented by the keywords.

²⁴ The Fudō *chōbuku* could refer to the performance of *kaji* using the *āveṣa* method, which centred on Fudō. See Komatsu, *Hyōrei shinkōron*, 238; Koyama, *Shinran no shinkō to jujutsu*, 28-30. As one of the Five Wisdom Kings, Fudō was of central importance for both the *kaji* and *shuhō* rituals.

presented.²⁵ Since we already know that *kaji* and *mishuhō* were only performed for entities that form part of the category of *mono*, it is difficult to determine the significance of the other two entities.

入夜参内候宿、御惱猶不快、御物氣、并聖天、貴生禰明神顯出、被調伏所陳之種々也云々。(Sakeiki, 178).

Despite the fact that the keyword *mononoke* only appears in this entry, the *tennō* had already been ill since the fifth month. A great variety of rituals and treatments had already been provided for him and various causes had been determined. On the fifth day of the fifth month, the *Sakeiki* informs us that his body was swollen in many places and that he had pain in his chest, which was treated by giving him soup made of ginger and bathing him in hot water that contained five fragrances. The Tendai Zasu Ingen (951-1028) was summoned as well as Jinen (dates unknown) and Ningai (951-1046)²⁶ so that prayers and sutra recitations could be performed. On the seventh, while sutras were being recited, a *mishuhō* and *Fudō chōbuku* were performed by monks, as well as prayers and the *shōkonsai*,²⁷ a ceremony to recall the spirit, which were performed by the Jingikan.

There had also been strange occurrences at Kasuga and Ōharano shrines so that a divination had to be performed. In the garden in front of Ōharano shrine, a tree had snapped and fallen down in a gust of wind in the second month. Two days later a *konrō no miura* 幹廊御卜, a divination only performed in situations of national importance in the corridor of the palace, took place, which was presided over by the Jingikan and the Onmyōryō because a tree had died at Usa Shrine and ducks had assembled on the roof on one of its southern towers. The Jingikan

²⁵ *Sakeiki*, 178.

²⁶ A Shingon monk who was appointed *bettō* of Tōdaiji in 1029.

²⁷ For more information on the *shōkonsai* 招魂祭, a ceremony to welcome the soul back into the body, see Saitō, “Shōkonsai wo meguru gensetsu to girei”, 265-293.

results revealed that the kami matters had differed from precedent, which caused the tree to wither, and the ducks were taken to indicate that there could be wars coming from the southwest or western directions and epidemics. The Onmyōryō diverged only slightly by saying that there had been disputes in the shrine office and that the matter of the ducks could indicate wars coming from the southwest and southeast, as well as epidemics.²⁸ These events may not necessarily be directly related to the illness, but they certainly form the backdrop against which the emperor's illness was evaluated. In the *Fusō ryakki*, there is an entry for the twenty-ninth day of the fifth month concerning the rewards for the monk Jinkaku (955-1043)²⁹, for his help during the illness and the efficacy of his *kaji*. The fact that this ritual in particular proved to be efficacious indicates that the underlying entity belonged to the category of *mono*, which probably had an effect on the performance of rituals in the next intercalary month and impacted the interpretation of the illness as *mononoke*.

9. 998/03/03 *Gonki*:

Michinaga takes the presence of *jaki* to be a sign that it is time for him to become a monk as a weak body constitutes an easier target for evil influences. The entry states that such a step presents a pious act of devotion, and that illness can help to remove the barriers of the heart in entering the Buddhist path. Such an act may remove illness and prolong life. However, taking the advice of the emperor and

²⁸ *Sakeiki*, 176-177. This event is also described in the *Ruijufusenshō*, which is a Heian-period collection of decrees and edicts that was compiled by Minamoto no Tsuneyori, the author of the *Sakeiki*, and spans the years from 737 until 1093. There the incident is referred to as *mokke* and the divination is performed in order to find out whether it was caused by *tatari*. *Kokushi Taikei*, vol. 27, 63.

²⁹ Although this source gives the name 心覚, it probably refers to 深覚 since the former was a monk of the twelfth century. *Kokushi taikei*, vol. 12, 279. Furthermore, Jinkaku is the name that appears in the *Sakeiki* on the eighth day of the fifth month, 176.

other ministers, he decided against it. Instead, ordination was bestowed on eighty people as a substitute for, and on behalf of, Michinaga.³⁰

問御惱体、示云、腰病、邪氣所為也云々…相府御消息云、可遂出家之由可奏者…功德無極、依成妨礙可畏罪報、然而病體邪氣所為云々、道心堅固必可遂志者、病惱除愈心閑入道如何、罷向彼家可仰此由、又為除病延命欲給度者…然而殊有思食、欲給八十人…。
(*Gonki*, 26).

10. 1000/05/25 *Gonki*:

Fujiwara no Yukinari, the author of the *Gonki*, heard that there had been quite the emergency at the residence of the Minister of the Left (Michinaga), who had been ill. Sutra readings had been performed on the previous days and a *jaki* apparently used his mouth to utter the following words: “Fujiwara no Korechika should be allowed to return to his official position and his official rank. If this is done, then a recovery from the illness is possible.” Yukinari reports on the situation and presents the information to the emperor, hearing that the *reiki* had possessed Michinaga from the beginning causing him much suffering. He goes on to describe Michinaga’s exalted position as the chief of the Fujiwara clan and that he is a preeminent figure unrivalled in his achievements.

有所被奏之事、々甚非常也、是邪氣詞也、以前帥可被復本官本位、然者病惱可愈者、此次亦被示云、申此由之次、竊可見人氣色。 (*Gonki*, 129).

11. 1040/09/21 *Shunki*:

1040 proved to be a particularly difficult year for Emperor Go-Suzaku (1009-1045), as the outer shrine of Ise, which is dedicated to the deity Toyouke, was destroyed by a typhoon on twenty-sixth day of the seventh month.³¹ This was

³⁰ The *Nihon kiryaku*, *Kokushi taikei*, vol. 11, 1035, summarises the event in the following way: The Minister of the Left was ill and there was a report on whether he could become a monk. However, the emperor did not allow it. 左大臣病重。可出家之由被奏之。勅不許之。給度者八十人。

³¹ *Hyakurenshō*, 218.

followed by an earthquake on the eighth day of the ninth month and a fire, which destroyed one of the palace buildings two days later and damaged a sacred mirror, while the emperor was struggling with his health.³² The annual offerings to Ise, which were due on the eleventh could not be dispatched because of the ritual pollution (*kegare*) caused by the fire and thus had to be delayed. The *tennō*'s illness, which was affecting his lower back, had been particularly bad throughout the ninth month and prompted a divination that was performed by the Onmyōryō on the twenty-first day. This divination revealed that there was *tatari* in the south-eastern direction, which is the direction in which Ise is located in relation to Kyoto. It is determined that the offerings to Ise should be dispatched on the twenty-seventh day.

Further down, the entry also reveals that another divination was performed in the afternoon by Abe no Tokichika (dates unknown), Yoshihira's son, and Kose Takahide (dates unknown), who was head of the Onmyōryō at the time, while Tokichika was an assistant. The result is that the illness is not too severe, but evil forces accompany his body, which give rise to *jaki* and add to the effects of *tatari*.³³

其の宣命、内裏焼亡に依り、穢に触れて延引せる由。又、御悩の事を陰陽寮のトし申す所、祟り、巽方に在り。…少時くして、時親・孝秀、トし申して云はく、「御悩、殊なる事無し。但し御悪、身に沿ひ、邪氣を上げ、祟りを加ふ」と云々。(Shunki, 191-198).

³² *Fusō Ryakki*, 285.

³³ <http://rakusai.nichibun.ac.jp/kokiroku/list.php> Accessed: 2018/08/15.

12. 1117 *Chōyagunsai*:

The author laments that instead of focussing on labour, more people strive for knowledge and reason, and the management and construction of buildings has been forgotten. Just by living, humans naturally break taboos. This is why there is a fear of *yōkai* 妖怪 (mysterious apparitions). If the altars and rituals are prepared and performed correctly, and people strive for pure sincerity, then virtue will triumph over calamities. Reverence of the Buddhist path and apologies at ancestral shrines will lead to good fortune. As a consequence, many hardships such as bad dreams and *mokke, jaki* and evil spirits, wars and illnesses, etc. will disappear eternally so that the next generation can prosper.³⁴

… 行疫流行。一切鬼神等言。夫巢居穴處之初。雖任乾坤之覆載。上棟下宇之後。雖忘土木之營造。勞逸之理。自古而 []。爰東三條第者。累代之勝地也。便占其東隣。聊排此黃閣。程巧致功。雖有鳥雀之朝賀。推石布土。猶思黎民之所苦。何況經始之間。自犯忌禁。栖息之處。猶畏妖怪。仍凝精誠。聊設壇場。就秘密之軌儀。備香花之供具。天不勝德。邪不侵正。衆流遂朝海水。万法悉歸仏乘。縱有鬼魅之鬼灵。忽散邪心於惠解之風。縱有凡夫之過怠。遠成擁護於祠謝之 []。今依此擁穆之德。必垂彼景福之報。肥 [] 過於餘地。昌榮傳於一門。長契松柏之遐齡。鎮朝子孫之富有。至惡夢物怪。邪氣怨灵。鬭靜病患。 … (*Kokushi Taikei*, vol. 29.1, 55-56).

13. 909/03/03 *Kitano Tenjin engi*:

On the third day of the third month, various rituals had been performed and a range of treatments administered by a number of ritual specialists and doctors, but none of them were effective and Tokihira was suffering tremendously. On the fourth day of the following month, the monk Jōzō (891-964)³⁵ was summoned and performed the Fudō ritual.³⁶ The entry states that his features had assumed

³⁴ I have paraphrased the following entry (leaving out the list of deities addressed).

³⁵ A Tendai monk who had also learnt *mikkyō* practices and was well-known for his *kaji* rituals. He was the son of Miyoshi Kiyoyuki.

³⁶ The *Fusō ryakki* mentions the performance of *kaji*, which indicates that they might refer to the same ritual. *Kokushi taikei*, vol. 12, 178.

the look of death and various sutra recitations and prayers were performed. The *mononoke* is then described as receiving some compassion through the rituals, so that Tokihira cries out and suddenly regains control over his body parts and senses. The fact that he has not passed out is described as *mokke*. When the *yorimashi* is summoned there is no oracle. However, Tokihira himself changes in appearance. From his left ear a blue head from an evil region is indicated, his mouth blazes with fire, and when he looks around his eyes do not match. Everyone was terrified, but an oracle became possible. The temporary matters of the Blue Dragon had not been spoken.³⁷ The meaning of this entry is far from clear and it is obvious that it was embellished for dramatic effect. Yet, it seems plausible to understand *mononoke* here as a general category of evil influences rather than a specified entity, which could refer both to the spirit of Michizane and the Blue Dragon as they were both applied to Tokihira's condition.

浄蔵祈給。哀般若心経二卷奉読。天衆地類奉法楽薬師経。金毘羅大将打上。千手廿八部衆言陳。浄被堀請。万人皆染心肝被貴。今物氣垂慈悲納受。心少蕩覧覺時。放大音声。一心責五体六根。満陀羅尼神呪。万人身毛豎。何物怪何不出覺。寄[]ヨリマシニ無託宣。自病人左耳。青色毒地一頭指出。自口焰燃。見之不当目。人皆倒臥。浄蔵無少臆気色。空色月出扇[]々開仕。託宣能給。青竜暫物不言。浄蔵忽祈給見云。痛御房祈給フナ。是程指頭乍対面。(Kitano Tenjin engi, Gunsho ruijū).

14. 989/07/28 *Shōyūki*:

When Sanesuke, the author of the *Shōyūki*, had ominous dreams in 989, he ordered the *ajari* 阿闍梨 (high priest) Shōso (dates unknown) and two other monks to perform the Fudō Myōō *chōbuku* for him for seven days. This ritual was probably very similar to the *āveśa* method of performing *kaji*, which required the officiant to become one with Fudō Myōō in order to receive the deity's powers

³⁷ Japan Knowledge, <https://japanknowledge-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk>, Accessed: 2018/08/16

and protect the body of the patient or the one who had commissioned the ritual.³⁸ *Chōbuku* as a rite of exorcism implied that an evil influence embodied by such notions as *mononoke* and *jaki* had to be removed. However, in contrast to those notions, *mokke* did not have a negative impact on the body, but rather constituted a sign that Sanesuke himself had probably behaved improperly or neglected his ritual duties and it thus functioned as a warning.

使阿闍梨勝祚、率二口伴僧、限七ケ日行□〔不〕動調伏法、依物怪夢想不快 (Vol. 1, 193).

15. 1040/08/9-11 *Shunki*:

There were debates as to whether the deity (Toyoyuke) should be worshipped and what should be done after the offerings had been presented, or whether the nobility was to blame for this incident (typhoon). Provisions now had to be made for a temporary shrine in order to house the divine body of the deity, which was only protected by several layers of cloth that had been wrapped around it at the time, as the entry for the eleventh day relates.³⁹ Sukefusa himself notes that he cannot offer any prayers as he is too poor and must rely on the power of the deity of Kasuga shrine to avert all calamities.⁴⁰

He then includes the divinatory report from the Jingikan, which is titled as the divination of the *mokke* and thus reveals that the destruction of Toyoyuke's shrine by the typhoon was considered to be an ominous event that implied a meta-physical agent. Regarding the matter of the typhoon on the twenty-sixth day of the seventh month, the divination suggests that there will be epidemics and armed conflicts under heaven.⁴¹ An earlier report also included the

³⁸ See Komatsu, *Hyōrei shinkōron*, 238; Koyama, *Shinran no shinkō to jujutsu*, 28-30.

³⁹ *Shunki*, 102-104.

⁴⁰ 往復之間觸事尤有畏、又不致涓塵之祈、是依貧困也、只所仰在春日明神攘災厄之思、*Shunki*, 103.

⁴¹ 卜物怪事：問伊勢豐受大神宮、去七月廿六日子時許、正殿并東西寶殿為大風顛倒怪歟、推之天下有疫癘若兵革之事歟 *Shunki*, 103-104. The report was signed by the servant of the virgin princess of

statement that the nobility was not to blame (奉為公家無咎, 103). After this the text of the Onmyōryō's divination is provided, which was performed based on the time and location of the incident.

The results were identical to those of the Jingikan, but the report included further information, which reveals that the epidemics will be due to the White Tiger, one of the four guardian deities of the directions (*shijin* 四神),⁴² who was associated with the west and among the Five Phases with the element metal. The armed conflicts are due to the encounter of Konjin 金神,⁴³ also associated with the west and with metal, with the divination sign of the dragon, which can be seen above Taisai 太歳 (Jupiter).⁴⁴ The report concludes by stating that prayers should be performed at the location of the incident.

16. 1167/10/09 Hyōhanki:

Throughout the ninth month of 1167, there had been several fires, which had caused *kegare* and thus interfered with rituals to be performed for the deities. Then, in the tenth month, following these disadvantageous events, the *Gojōden*, an imperial residence, burnt down. Since there had already been strange events and the *kami* matters couldn't be performed according to schedule because of the

Kamo Atai, the servant of the palace and minor functionary of the third rank Igi no Sukune Norimasa, the principal assistant Ōnakatomi no ason Sukenobu. Hérail, *Notes journalières de Fujiwara no Sukefusa: Traduction de Shunki*, 33.

⁴² The Four Symbols (*shijin* 四神) refer to the deities presiding over the four directions in the form of Chinese mythical animals in relation to the star constellations and the twenty-eight lunar mansions. They are the blue/green dragon of the east, the white tiger of the west, the red bird of the south, and the black warrior, often referred to as a tortoise, of the north. <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/s/shishin.htm> Accessed: 2018/08/23.

⁴³ For more information on Konjin see Frank, *Kata-imi et Kata-tagae*, 183-201.

⁴⁴ *Shunki*, 104: 以是奉為公家無咎、用起老氣終帶白虎以是主有天下之疾疫、大歳上見金神卦遇龍戰、皆是主兵革事之故也。The report was signed by the functionary of the lower fourth rank Ōnakatomi no Sadayoshi, of the third rank Nakahara no Tsunemori, assistant of Tanba province, Ōnakatomi no Tametoshi, assistant of office of public resources, Abe no Tokichika. Hérail, *Notes journalières de Fujiwara no Sukefusa: Traduction de Shunki*, 34.

ritual defilement, both the Jingikan and the Onmyōryō were requested to perform divinations. On the ninth day of the tenth month, a *konrō no miura* was conducted and the entry includes the divinatory texts from both departments.

While the Jingikan determined the exact time and date of the event, the Onmyōryō drew upon notions and deities associated with Daoism, such as the Four Symbols and Taiichi,⁴⁵ in order to interpret the event based on their positions to each other at a specific time and place. The Jingikan's divination concludes that the fire was due to the fact that the matters to do with the *kami* had differed from precedent and consequently, the shrines in the south-eastern and south-western directions were causing *tatari*. The results of the Onmyōryō are less clear since they are based on the positions of various meta-physical entities, such as Taiichi, the Blue Dragon, or the White Tiger, in relation to each other and whether they were in conflict. Their report simply concludes that it was an effect of nature, which thus differs significantly from the results of the Jingikan.⁴⁶ A couple of days later, on the 15th, offerings were made to twelve shrines, and various rituals, such as the *misogi* (ritual ablution) and *ōharae* were performed according to precedent.

… 可被行幹廊御卜也、下官仰云、去月廿七日子剋五條殿燒亡、何咎崇哉、令官寮卜申、
…

神祇官：卜炎上事、問、去九月廿七日子時五條皇居炎上者、是依何咎崇致哉、推之、可有公家御愼之上、巽兌方神社依神事違例不信所致歟、陰陽寮：占、去九月廿七日子時五

⁴⁵ Taiichi or Taiitsu (太一), the Great One or Great Pole, constituted an entity within the Chinese worldview that was thought to transcend *yin* and *yang* as the origin of the universe. See Ooms, *Imperial Politics and Symbolics*, 64; Scheid, "Overcoming Taboos on Death", 216. As the deity of the Pole Star, Taiichi became the most important deity among those associated with Ursa Major (the Plough) and through this symbolism also related to Taizan Fukun. See Dolce, *The Worship of Stars*, 174; Yoshino, *Kakusareta kamigami*, 6, 101; Frank, *Kata-imi et Kata-tagae*, 50). Yoshino also suggests that due to selection of the title for the emperor in China (son of heaven), which was transmitted to Japan, Amaterasu gradually became associated with Taiitsu because of the connection of the position of the emperor with the Pole Star (6, 100-113).

⁴⁶ *Hyōhanki*, the diary of Taira no Nobunori (1112-1187).

條皇居燒亡、若有咎崇所致歟、去九月廿七日辛卯、時加子、(十月節)太一臨卯為用、將六合、中小吉、將青龍、終從魁、將白虎、卦遇蒿矢、龍戰天吏、推之、依自然所致歟、
Vol. 3, 275-276.

17. 975/12/10 *Hōsō ruirin*:

Similarly, the *Hōsō ruirin* presents the aspect of impurity causing *tatari* in an entry from 947, which is contained in a report from the Daijōkan and the Jingikan. A *konrō no miura* is performed because there is *tatari* in three cases. The first report reveals that the *tatari* is due to the accumulation of people's *kegare* when serving the water deity. Rituals of purification were requested in order to rectify the situation. The second matter constitutes a prognostication of events to come and states that in the spring and summer of the following year there would be the *tatari* of demons, or, as I have discussed previously, this could also be read as spirits of the dead. For this reason, the *shikaku shikaisai* should be performed in the capital and at the boundaries of the province, as well as *misogi* as a means of purification. The third instance of *tatari* relates to Dokujin, who was apparently causing obstructions in the various districts and provinces of the southern and western directions, and thus needed to be pacified. It is not clear which indicators signified the presence of *tatari* in this case, but this example reveals once again that *tatari* was caused by *kegare* in relation to kami matters.

Twelfth month, tenth day: 應行御卜崇三箇條事。一 御膳水神依人過穢為崇。仰預人可令掃清祭治事。一 来年春夏兩季可有鬼氣崇、季初祭治大宮四隅京四隅、兼祭日可供奉御禊事。一 自御在所南西方諸司所犯土崇可鎮謝事。 (*Kokushi taikei*, vol. 27, 49-50).

18. 1077/09/02 *Suisaki*:

Throughout the seventh and eighth months a smallpox epidemic was raging in the capital and many people died.⁴⁷ Many significant rituals were performed continuously, such as the *kikisai*, the *Taizan Fukun sai*, rituals for Enmaten, and many prayers and offerings were presented to the deities of various shrines and temples, as well as purification ceremonies.⁴⁸ Most entries centre on the suffering of the Crown Prince Atsufumi (1075-1077), who was the first-born son of Shirakawa Tennō (1053-1130) and was only a few years old at the time. Many divinations were performed that alternately ascribed it to *jaki*, in which case there was not too much to worry about, or the *ki* of epidemics. It is repeatedly stated that the body resembled *jaki*, which indicates that people were aware of a certain set of physical symptoms that signified a specific type of evil influence.⁴⁹

On the second day of the ninth month the crown prince's condition had still not improved, and people were very worried. While the *Lotus Sutra* was being recited for him, the *jaki* attached itself to a person and revealed that Gion and Kibune Shrines were causing *tatari*.⁵⁰ *Ōharae* were performed and offerings were presented to Iwashimizu, Kamo, Hirano, Inari, Kasuga, Gion and Kibune, which constituted the major shrines. Despite the efforts of everyone at court and the ritual specialists who continuously performed a variety of ceremonies, the crown prince passed away on the sixth day of the ninth month.⁵¹ This example is

⁴⁷ Farris contends that the outbreak of 1077 was a measles epidemic, as it affected mostly children. The records simply give us the characters for sores and boils, "Diseases of the Premodern Period in Japan". *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, edited by Kenneth F. Kiple. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 382.

⁴⁸ These are recorded throughout the eighth month in the *Suisaki*, the diary of Minamoto no Toshifusa (1035-1121), a Heian-period courtier of the first rank who became Minister of the Left; *Suisaki*, 35-44.

⁴⁹ See the entries for the twenty-sixth – twenty-eighth days of the eighth month, 42-44.

⁵⁰ 若宮御悩不宜御云々、相尋可左右也者、未剋許永義闇梨於御前誦法華經、此間邪氣附人忽然云、祇園貴布禰等御崇云々、45. The entry for the third day reveals that in the case of Kibune, it had something to do with the deity's sacred body, which was made from gold and copper, and its silver dragon. 貴布禰體鑄金銅、并銀龍等、45.

⁵¹ *Suisaki*, 46. The *Fusō ryakki* records this event under the sixth day of the eighth month, although it seems that the ninth month presents the correct date, 318.

particularly interesting since the underlying *tatari* is revealed through *jaki* that has been exorcised and transferred onto a medium, presumably, and not through divination.

19. 1018/06/28 *Shōyūki*:

An entry from the *Shōyūki* that relates to Michinaga demonstrates the process of determining the cause of an incident. By the twenty-third day of the sixth month in 1018, Michinaga had been ill for quite a while, which was attributed to *jaki*. While a variety of them manifested themselves, there was an oracle relating to Mt. Kinpu. It revealed that the deities wanted more people to come there and pray and they were displeased because up until then they had not been visited. The courtiers thought that this matter was very strange and dispatched someone to the mountain. It is significant to note here that Michinaga established his family's connection with the mountain and participated in a pilgrimage there in 1007.⁵² Since it had been over ten years since his last pilgrimage, it could be seen as a direct reproach of Michinaga's behaviour in regard to his devotional and ritual responsibilities. It seems as if the *jaki* appeared in order to indicate an underlying cause and raise awareness. It is not clear whether this oracle was delivered through *jaki*, but it does act in a similar way to *tatari* as defined by Ōe in that there is an underlying wish for more worship and ritual attention.

又云、去夕種々邪氣顕露之中、有金峯山託宣、被祈申可參給由、于今不参入之咎者、此事頗奇而已、或云、為被祈申召遣彼山[]校金昭了、若寄名於金峯靈物等所言歟 (Vol. 5, 44).

⁵² Blair, *Real and Imagined*, 11-12.

The following day the *Shōyūki* reveals that Michinaga is still unwell and that his condition does not resemble the previous illness. It is now related to a *tatari* of Kibune shrine, which was due to the “breath” of the princess and her prayers. The comments link this to Fujiwara no Enshi (985-1019), who was the daughter of Fujiwara no Akimitsu (944-1021) and was married to the crown prince Atsuakira (994-1051). Atsuakira however came under the influence of Michinaga and married one of his daughters, abandoning Enshi. Michinaga convinced Atsuakira to renounce his status as crown prince and offered him the position of abdicated emperor instead. He then wondered if he could use prayers and offerings to rectify the situation. His illness signifies again an underlying cause, this time relating to his political strategies and the victims he created along the way. It is unclear whether the *tatari* is due to the princess’s “breath”, or the force that emanated from her, which may have caused a form of pollution at the shrine due to her anger and disappointment, and in turn caused the deity’s *tatari*, or whether the deity acted in response to her prayers. Both options seem conceivable, but the fact that the word “breath”, which could also be translated as mood, is used could be taken to indicate the effect she had on the deity and shrine.

或云、太閤所悩有貴布祢明神之祟、是院御息所[]祈也、(謂御息所者左府二娘)太閤對神明曰、彼人祈願用昏御幣許坎。 (Vol. 5, 45).

20. Ninth-tenth century *Honchō monzui*:

Miyoshi begins by summarising the proper way of worshipping the deities based on the rules made by the Chinese Emperor Shun (2294-2184 BC). First of all, the ruler should survey the land (*kunimi* 国見) before flowing water with duckweed and pondweed is collected, boiled and placed in ritual vessels together with five dishes of different flavours. These vessels are then set on mats made of cogon

grass, placed on the ground and thus presented to the deities. The one hundred spirits 靈 observe the ruler's countenance, which, as the sources reveal, always had to be in accord with the situation and his worship should be carried out with sincere reverence. When he displays the proper conduct the rejoicing deities descend and assemble. The passage that this sentence quotes is taken from the section on the Duke Zhuang (757-701 BC) in Zuo's commentary on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu zuo zhuan*). It states that when the country is flourishing, the deities 神 will descend in order to survey its virtue. However, they will also descend when it declines and is about to perish in order to observe the evil among humans. When they descend, the proper offerings should be presented based on the day they came.

The Duke Guo made a mistake by asking the deity for a favour in return for sacrifice, upon which this following remark is made: "I have heard that, when a state is about to flourish, its ruler receives his lessons from the people; and when it is about to perish, he receives his lessons from the deities."⁵³ When the ruler fails to present the proper offerings, demons of pestilence, Ekiki, will descend. Not just the regular and orderly worship of the deities as well as the presentation of offerings was of utmost importance, but also that the rituals performed for these deities (*kishin* 鬼神) must be done in accordance with their respective categories. A quotation from the *Chunqiu zuo zhuan* again demonstrates that the spirits of the dead/deities do not appreciate the rituals performed for those that are not of their kind, and that people in general only

⁵³ Duke Zhuang, thirty-second year, autumn, seventh month: 秋，七月，有神降于莘。惠王問諸內史過曰，是何故也。對曰，國之將興，明神降之，監其德也，將亡，神又降之，觀其惡也，故有得神以興，亦有以亡…吾聞之，國將興，聽于民，將亡，聽于神，神，聰明正直而壹者也，依人而行，號多涼德，其何土之能得。

<http://www2.iath.virginia.edu:8080/exist/cocoon/xwomen/texts/chunqiu/d2.9/1/0/bilingual>
 Accessed: 2018/08/27.

sacrifice to their dead ancestors.⁵⁴ If the ruler failed to perform his tasks appropriately, it was not unusual for him to be affected by prolonged illness. The author thus emphasises the point that the nobility must make the rituals proper to their country their main priority, since *tatari* would result otherwise. This application of the term *tatari* is of particular interest as it does not appear in the original quotation from the *Chunqiu zuo zhuan* that the passage invokes but represents a Japanese interpretation of the concept that is applied to the Chinese sources.⁵⁵

21. 1085/10/01 *Chōyagunsai*:

Narisue's main complaints refer to the system of ranks and the gap between the highest ranks and the lower officials, who can never rise due to the faults of the system, since it is no longer based on merit or virtue. The passage evokes the sense that people are only concerned with their personal success while neglecting their duties, and others having to do more than their share. The state cannot function when it does not have the means to support itself and the current conditions cause frustration and evil thoughts so that people are blamed for wanting to retire early and imperial commands are resented. Writing is without reason and one does not receive what heaven confers, which presents an example in which heaven occurs as an agent in the Japanese context.

Mokke have occurred repeatedly and the divinations have been unsettled, which are inauspicious signs, but it is the duty of those in the highest positions to rectify the situation. Divinations have revealed that earth and water oppose each

⁵⁴ Duke Xi, tenth year, autumn: …神不歆非類，民不祀非族…

⁵⁵ Since a complete discussion of this essay including the answer by Fujiwara no Ason, who, in turn, plays on the quotations and imagery used by Miyoshi, would be beyond the scope of this dissertation, this first part should suffice to provide us with some of the notions that formed part of the Heian-period worldview. "Constructing a small shrine for the deities", *Kokushi taikei*, vol. 29, vol. 2, 60-61. Kakimura, *Honchō Monzui chūshaku*, vol. 1, 376-392.

other, which is why there have been many illnesses and people are frightened. They fear the *tatari* of Dokujin, the earthly deities, demons of pestilence and many others.⁵⁶ However, since there is this wish to erect a new temple and to enshrine six Buddhist statues there, they act as demonstrations of good intentions and the desire to make up for human faults in behaviour, which are seen as the cause of these calamities. The author describes that an effort was being made to avoid the directional taboos and verify auspicious days for the construction work, even though some mistakes did still occur. An altar was prepared so that rituals could be performed, such as the burning of incense and Shingon ceremonies, in order to worship the Buddhist deities and their great compassion, especially Taishakuten.⁵⁷

今上陛下負展之後。更兼大將之仰。非德非勳。…已謂則闕。何抽非器。事出不慮。忽成周章。惡惟無涯。還致楚痛。旁思人謗。以欲早退。恐背勅命。…書不謂乎。不受天之授。還招其殃。…物怪荐呈。就內就外。筮相不靜。寔以下愚之質。高居上宰之任也不祥也。就中去月癘病受身。地水乖達。卜筮所告。畏懼非一。土公地神。恐害疫鬼。種々之崇。旁所疑殆也。加以往日以來。有建立一堂。奉安置丈六仏像之願矣。…
(*Chōyagunsai*, 49-50).

⁵⁶ The *Fusō ryakki* (325) does indeed mention an epidemic for the eleventh month, while this report was submitted on the first day of the tenth month, 1085. In reference to the demons of pestilence, the commentary provides the alternative reading of *onryō*.

⁵⁷ While this does not constitute an accurate translation, I have attempted to paraphrase the main points of the essay that are relevant to the present argument.

Appendix 6: Chronological list of *tatari* as the cause of illness (Chapter 3)

Examples of *tatari* that stem from one or more shrine(s) and target a specific person causing illness (Based on diaries):

Sekkanke:

Emperor	High-ranking courtier (Fujiwara)
1040 Go-Suzaku and Ise	919 Tadahira and Inari
	1012 Michinaga and Hie
	1018 Michinaga and Kibune
	1019 Michinaga and Inari, Kibune

Insei:

Emperor	High-ranking courtier (Fujiwara)
1095 Horikawa and Ise	
1105 Horikawa and Ise (Tyouke)	
1106 Horikawa and Inari, Kasuga, Gion, Hie, Kitano	
1113 Toba and Hachiman, Hie, Kamo, Ōharano, Gion	

Tatari in relation to illness without specific reference to an institution (based on diaries and Ōe's tables, *Nihon kodai no kami to rei*, 114-117):

Sekkanke:

Emperor/imperial family	High-ranking courtier
949 Empress (<i>Kyūreki</i>)	
	989 Sanesuke (Fujiwara) (<i>Shōyūki</i>)
	990 Sanesuke's daughter (Fujiwara) (<i>Shōyūki</i>)
999 Empress Dowager	
1013 Crown Prince	
	1014 Michinaga (Fujiwara)
1015 Emperor	
	1027 Minamoto no Toshikata
	1027 Yukinari (Fujiwara)
	1028 Yorimichi (Fujiwara)
	1028 Middle general
	1031 Daughter of Chūnagon
1035 Kamo virgin priestess	
	1039 Sukefusa (Fujiwara)

Insei:

Emperor/imperial family	High-ranking courtier
1077 Imperial Prince	1077 Udaijō
1080 Emperor	
1081 Emperor	
1096 Imperial Princess	
	1106 Ōe no Masahira
1106 Emperor	
1113 Emperor	

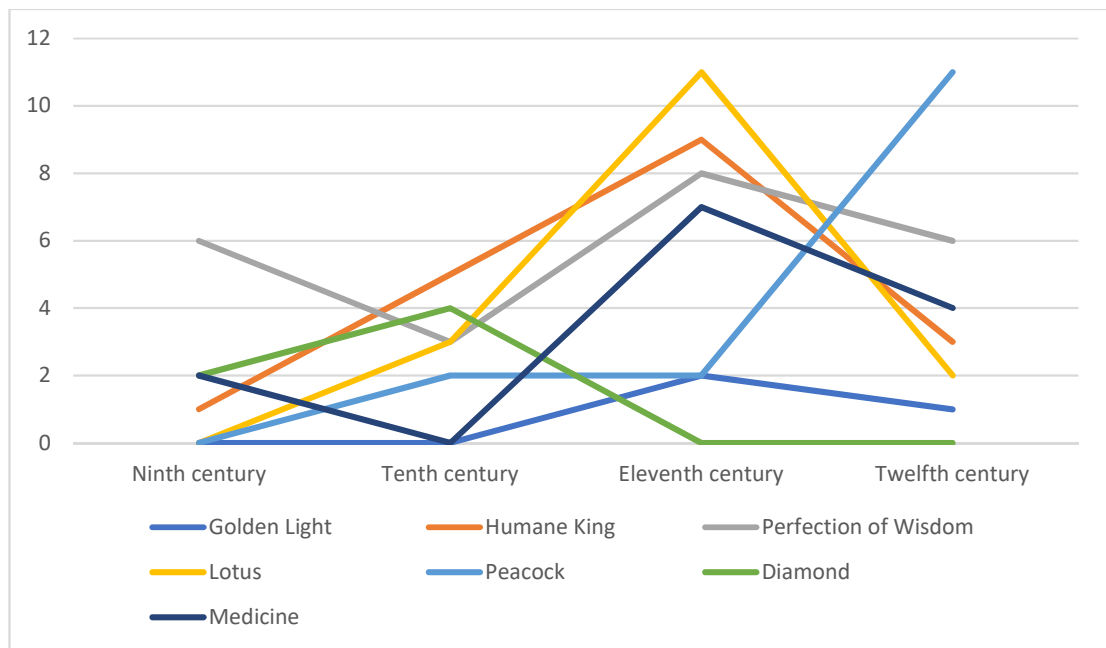
Appendix 7: Reports to the deities (Chapter 4)

Date	Document	Author	Deity	Source
936	Decree	Tennō	Amaterasu	<i>Chōya gunsai</i>
947	<i>Ganmon</i> for performing eight lectures	Ōe no Koretoki		<i>Honchō monzui</i>
947	<i>Ganmon</i> presented to imperial residence	Ōe no Asatsuna		<i>Honchō monzui</i>
955	<i>Ganmon</i> for Murakami's transcription of <i>Lotus Sutra</i>	Minamoto no Kaneakira		<i>Honchō monzui</i>
963	Decree to determine priestess to Ise	Tennō	Amaterasu	<i>Chōya gunsai</i>
963	<i>Ganmon</i> for Murakami's services at Zenrinin	Ōe no Koretoki		<i>Honchō monzui</i>
963	Decree containing prayers for rain	Tennō	A certain <i>kami</i>	<i>Chōya gunsai</i>
975	<i>Saimon</i>	Minamoto no Kaneakira	Kameyama (= Hachiman, Ōjin, Jingū)	<i>Chōya gunsai</i>
986	<i>Ganmon</i>	Yoshishige no Yasutani	Sugawara no Michizane	<i>Honchō monzui</i>
1003	Decree to appeal for help from <i>kami</i>	Ichijō Tennō	<i>Kami</i>	<i>Iwashi Tanaka</i>
1004	Decree because of misfortune and <i>tatari</i>	Tennō	Usa Daijin	<i>Iwashi Tanaka</i>
1004	<i>Ganmon</i> for accumulating good deeds for Atsuta Shrine	Ōe no Masahira	Buddhist deities	<i>Honchō monzui</i>
1005	<i>Ganmon</i> on behalf of Michinaga	Ōe no Masahira		<i>Honchō monzui</i>
1007	<i>Ganmon</i> on behalf of Michinaga	Ōe no Masahira		<i>Honchō monzui</i>
1007	<i>Ganmon</i> on behalf of Yukinari	Ōe no Mochitoki		<i>Honchō monzui</i>

1019	Decree containing prayers for good harvest	Tennō	A certain <i>kami</i>	<i>Chōya gunsai</i>
1047	<i>Kōmon</i> concerning construction at Kasuga Shrine	Fujiwara no Yorimichi	Sahō Yama	<i>Chōya gunsai</i>
1050	<i>Tojō</i> (specific Onmyōdō variety of <i>saimon</i>)	On behalf of father of Tennō	Taizan Fukun	<i>Chōya gunsai</i>
1077	Decree regarding fire at Kashī Shrine	Shirakawa Tennō	Deity of Kashī Shrine	<i>Iwashi Tanaka</i>
1078	<i>Saimon</i> on behalf of courtiers for poetry contest	Ōe no Masafusa	Umemiya	<i>Chōya gunsai</i>
1085	<i>Kōmon</i> concerning construction of Kujō Hall on behalf of Fujiwara no Nobunaga	Fujiwara no Narisue	Taishakuten	<i>Chōya gunsai</i>
1099	Decree concerning Iwashimizu	Horikawa Tennō	Hachiman	<i>Iwashitsuki</i>
1101	<i>Saimon</i>	Retired emperor Shirakawa	Northern Dipper	<i>Chōya gunsai</i>
1103	<i>Kōmon</i> on behalf of Tennō	Fujiwara no Masaie	Hokushin/Myōken	<i>Chōya gunsai</i>
1106	<i>Saimon</i> for healing illness	Ōe no Masafusa	Hie Daijin	<i>Chōya gunsai</i>
1113	<i>Saimon</i>	Retired Emperor Shirakawa	Hokushin	<i>Chōya gunsai</i>
1114	<i>Tojō</i> (specific Onmyōdō variety of <i>saimon</i>)	Fujiwara no Akitaka	Taizan Fukun, deities of underworld, <i>jingi</i>	<i>Chōya gunsai</i>
1117	<i>Saimon</i>	Fujiwara no Tadazane	Earthly deities	<i>Chōya gunsai</i>

Appendix 8: Sutras recited in the contexts of the keywords (Chapter 4)

The data used for the following chart should not be taken to represent all references to these sutras in the primary sources. It is rather a reflection of the most popularly recited sutras in situations of crisis that relate to one or more of the keywords based on the materials used for this thesis. Although this sample is by no means complete, it nevertheless allows us to trace the general tendencies over time.



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